

HISTORIA

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ALTE GESCHICHTE · REVUE D'HISTOIRE
ANCIENNE · JOURNAL OF ANCIENT HISTORY · RIVISTA
DI STORIA ANTICA

EINZELSCHRIFTEN

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
HEINZ HEINEN/TRIER · FRANÇOIS PASCHOUD/GENEVE
KURT RAAFLAUB/WASHINGTON D.C. · HILDEGARD TEMPORINI/TÜBINGEN
GEROLD WALSER/BASEL

HEFT 117



PAPERS FROM THE
COPENHAGEN POLIS CENTRE 4



FRANZ STEINER VERLAG STUTTGART
1997

THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN (ED.)

YET MORE STUDIES
IN THE
ANCIENT GREEK
POLIS



FRANZ STEINER VERLAG STUTTGART
1997

Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

[Historia / Einzelschriften]

Historia : Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte. Einzelschriften. – Stuttgart :
Steiner

Früher Schriftenreihe

Reihe Einzelschriften zu: Historia

H. 117. Yet more studies in the ancient Greek polis. – 1997

Yet more studies in the ancient Greek polis / Thomas Heine

Nielsen (ed.). – Stuttgart : Steiner, 1997

(Historia : Einzelschriften ; H. 117)

ISBN 3-515-07222-5



ISO 9706

Jede Verwertung des Werkes außerhalb der Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist unzulässig und strafbar. Dies gilt insbesondere für Übersetzung, Nachdruck, Mikroverfilmung oder vergleichbare Verfahren sowie für die Speicherung in Datenverarbeitungsanlagen. © 1997 by Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, Sitz Stuttgart. Gedruckt auf säurefreiem, alterungsbeständigem Papier. Druck: Druckerei Proff, Eurasburg.
Printed in Germany

PREFACE

by

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

This is the fourth volume of the series *Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre*, and, by contrast with the second and third volumes, we feel that a short preface is in place. In the growing number of reviews of the three first volumes we have noted two points of criticism: (1) the reviewers emphasise that the individual articles are valuable contributions to specific problems, but then point out, quite correctly, that there is no thematic coherence between the articles printed in a volume. (2) The same reviewers note that in these articles an enormous amount of evidence is handled which is not made accessible through indices.¹ We acknowledge both points. The first might have been avoided if this preface had been printed in the first volume.

The Polis Centre's ultimate aim is to present a new analysis of the Archaic and Classical Greek *polis* based on an general investigation of what the Greeks thought a *polis* was and on an inventory of all communities attested as *poleis* in contemporary sources, i.e., for all practical purposes the sources from ca. 600 B.C. down to 323 B.C.² This synthesis will be published by Oxford University Press, hopefully in the year 2001. It would be impossible to burden that publication with lengthy analyses and discussions of methodology, of specific thematic issues, and of various problems pertaining to a specific region. Consequently, it was decided already in 1993, when the Polis Centre opened, that all preliminary studies should be published in two series.

(1) An annual symposium is held under the auspices of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters. These symposia are attended by the members of the Polis Centre and other invited scholars, and the results of each symposium have been published by the Academy in the series *Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser* as *Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre* vols. 1, 2, 3, and 4, see the presentation in this volume pages 259–262.

- 1 See, e.g., Fritz Naerebout's review of *Papers 1* in *Mnemosyne* 49 (1996) 612–5 and Uwe Walter's review of *CPCPapers 2* in *Historische Zeitschrift* 263 (1996) 737–8.
- 2 See M.H. Hansen, "Poleis and City-States, 600–323 B.C. A Comprehensive Research Program," in *CPCPapers 1* (1994) 9–17 and *idem*, ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ (Arist. *Pol.* 1276a23). The Copenhagen Inventory of Poleis and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*," in *CPCActs of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 3* (1996), see *infra* page 261. A part of this article has appeared in L.G. Mitchell and P.J. Rhodes (eds.), *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece* (London 1997) 9–23.

(2) The members of the Polis Centre continuously investigate specific problems and partial aspects of the Centre's general research topic, which will contribute to the final study, or pursue spin-offs resulting from the on-going study of the *polis* in Archaic and Classical Greece. Instead of submitting these contributions to various journals we found it useful to collect them in a series of volumes. Already in 1993 an agreement was made with the editors of *Historia* that whenever a sufficient number of articles had been submitted they were refereed and, when accepted, printed as a volume in the *Historia Einzelschriften*.

These volumes are what they purport to be: *Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre*, i.e. articles about various aspects of the Archaic and Classical Greek *polis* written by the members of the centre but without any claim to overall coherence. What has baffled some reviewers, and undoubtedly some readers as well, is that our publications appear in what is otherwise a monograph series and that, to make them match the other volumes, we have had to provide them with a title instead of just calling them *Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre* vol. 1, 2, 3, 4 etc. For the first volume we invented the admittedly rather monstrous title: *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius*. For the following volumes we have preferred broad and simple titles: *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* and *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, a title which is intended to call for a smile. To reviewers and readers who feel that there is no further thematic coherence our reply is that each volume is much more thematic than any volume of an ordinary periodical.

As to the second point, we hope that we have made up for the missing indices in the first three volumes by presenting in this volume an index of sources and a general index, both covering all four volumes of *Papers*.

CONTENTS

Preface by Mogens Herman Hansen	5
Conventions and Abbreviations	8
Mogens Herman Hansen, Πόλις as the Generic Term for State	9
Mogens Herman Hansen, Hekataios' Use of the Word <i>Polis</i> in His <i>Periegesis</i>	17
Mogens Herman Hansen, A Typology of Dependent <i>Poleis</i>	29
Gocha R. Tsetskhladze, A Survey of the Major Urban Settlements in the Kimmerian Bosphoros (With a Discussion of Their Status as <i>Poleis</i>)	39
Mogens Herman Hansen, <i>Emporion</i> . A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods	83
John Hind, Colonies and Ports-of-Trade on the Northern Shores of the Black Sea: Borysthenes, Kremnoi and the "Other Pontic <i>Emporia</i> " in Herodotos	107
Pernille Flensted-Jensen, Some Problems in <i>Polis</i> Identification in the Chalkidic Peninsula	117
Thomas Heine Nielsen, <i>Triphylia</i> . An Experiment in Ethnic Construction and Political Organisation	129
Jeannette Forsén and Björn Forsén, The <i>Polis</i> of Asea. A Case-Study of How Archaeology Can Expand Our Knowledge of the History of a <i>Polis</i>	163
Index of Sources for <i>CPCPapers</i> 1–4, by Pernille Flensted-Jensen	177
I. Literary Texts	177
II. Inscriptions and Papyri	210
General Index Including Names for <i>CPCPapers</i> 1–4, by Thomas Heine Nielsen	223

CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Unless otherwise indicated the following conventions are used:

1. References to Greek authors follow the abbreviations of *OCD*. For references to Jacoby's *Fragmente* we print e.g. Theopompos (*FGrHist* 115) fr. 17.
2. References to inscriptions follow the latest standard editions, conventions being the ones of *SEG*.
3. Citations of modern works follow the abbreviations of *American Journal of Archaeology* (1991 issue).
4. The Polis Centre's own publications are referred to as follows:

- CPCActs* 1 (1993) = M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 67 (Copenhagen 1993).
- CPCActs* 2 (1995) = M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Sources for The Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 72 (Copenhagen 1995).
- CPCActs* 3 (1996) = M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 3. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 74 (Copenhagen 1996).
- CPCActs* 4 (1997) = M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 4. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 75 (Copenhagen 1997).
- CPCPapers* 1 (1994) = D. Whitehead (ed.), *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1. *Historia Einzelschriften* 87 (Stuttgart 1994).
- CPCPapers* 2 (1995) = M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. *Historia Einzelschriften* 95 (Stuttgart 1995).
- CPCPapers* 3 (1996) = M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 3. *Historia Einzelschriften* 108 (Stuttgart 1996).

ΠΟΛΙΣ AS THE GENERIC TERM FOR STATE

by

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

When we want to refer collectively to a plurality of political communities or even to all members of what is now called "the international community" the three preferred terms are "states", "nations" and "countries". The use of these three words as generic terms has a long history; they are attested, for example, on the title page of the second edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, published in 1778–83,¹ and all three are still in use: today the largest of all international organisations is called the *United Nations*, and in the charter the members are repeatedly described as states.² The word "country" is found in, for example, The Olympic Charter in the chapter which lays down the rules for the nationality of competitors.³ When the words "state", "nation" or "country" appear as headings or as generic terms they are, of course, used less precisely than when applied to individual communities: not all the nations making up the *UN* are nations in the strict sense of the term, and it can be debated whether all the members are states. The word country is often used informally but less frequently in official language as a technical term.

I

What did the ancient Greeks do when they needed a generic term for what we call states, nations or countries? In the Classical period the predominant form of state was indisputably the *polis*, and accordingly the plural form πόλεις is frequently

- 1 "Encyclopædia Britannica; or A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, &c. ... A Description of all the *Countries*, Cities, principal Mountains, Seas, Rivers, etc. throughout the World; A General History, Ancient and Modern, of the different Empires, Kingdoms, and *States*; and An Account of the Lives of the most eminent Persons in every *Nation* ..." (my italics). For "state" in the sense of "Republic" see e.g. Hobbes, *Leviathan* 4.45.365.
- 2 *Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice*, Chapter 2, Article 3: "The original members of the United Nations shall be the states which ... sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with article 10." Article 4: "Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter ..." See also *Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly* (New York 1985) Rules 134 and 136.
- 3 *Olympic Charter* of 15 June 1995, issued by the *International Olympic Committee*, Chapter 46, Section 1: "Any Competitor in the Olympic Games must be a national of the country of the *NOC* which is entering him." Section 2: "All disputes relating to the determination of the country which a competitor may represent in the Olympic Games shall be resolved by the *IOC* Executive Board."

found as a heading denoting all the states listed in a document or in a literary text. Let me adduce some examples. Whenever the members of the Delian League are referred to collectively they are called *poleis*,⁴ although they include, for example, a Karian ruler Tymnes⁵ and splinter communities such as the Milesians from Leros.⁶ Similarly, the list of members of the Second Athenian Naval Confederacy is headed by the phrase: 'Αθηναίων πόλεις αἶδε σύμμαχοι;⁷ but in addition to forty-four *poleis* in the strict sense the list includes three rulers, two federations and at least one splinter community.⁸ In an alliance between Athens, Elis, Phleious, the Arkadians and the Achaïans the five parties to the treaty are referred to collectively as being *poleis*, although both the Achaïans and the Arkadians were federations.⁹ Of literary sources it suffices here to cite Thucydides who opens his account of the Peloponnesian War with a survey of the allied *poleis* of, respectively, the Lakedaimonians and the Athenians: πόλεις δὲ ἑκάτεροι τάσδε ἔχοντες ξυμμάχους ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο (Thuc. 2.9.1); but in the following list peoples like the Boiotians, the Lokrians and the Phokians are placed side by side with proper *poleis* such as Megara, Ambrakia, Leukas and Anaktorion.

All the texts cited so far are Athenian but non-Athenian sources tell the same story: One example is Herodotos' count at 8.43–8 of the ships which fought on the Greek side in the battle of Salamis. Here a list of twenty-two named communities is sandwiched between ἀπὸ πολλίων πλεύνων at 8.42.1 and ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων πολλίων at 8.49.1. Also the fourth-century Delphic lists of contributions to the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo record payments by *poleis* as well as by individuals: τάδε πόλεις καὶ ἰδιῶται ἐπάρξαντο ταῦται τᾷ πυλαίαι (CID II 4.I.14–5). In both these cases all the communities listed as *poleis* happen to be *poleis* in the proper sense, but other documents show that the term πόλις in such headings is used in a loose sense: in an Amphiktyonic decree of 345/4 about Megalopolis and Messene all the Amphiktyonic envoys are instructed to report back each to his own *polis*,¹⁰ since Philip II was now a member of the Amphiktyonic Council the word *polis* must, in a loose sense, include Macedon. Furthermore, the two Dolopian envoys came from Phalanna and Ktimene (CID II 32.45), which may well have been *poleis*, but in the council the envoys must have represented the Dolopians and not just their own *polis*. Again, an early fourth-century law from Oropos prescribes that every person who consults the oracle must have his name and the name of his *polis* recorded by the *neokoros*.¹¹ To conclude,

4 IG I³ 34.7, 12, 14, 20–1, 23, 32, 45, 61, 64 and many other sources listed and discussed by W. Schuller, "Poleis im Ersten Attischen Seebund," *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 165–70.

5 IG I³ 71.I.113–4; 272.II.79.

6 IG I³ 259.VI.19–20.

7 IG II² 43.78, see M. Dreher, "Poleis und Nicht-Poleis im Zweiten Athenischen Seebund," *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 171–200.

8 Dreher (*supra* n. 7) 174–81.

9 IG II² 112.36 (362/1 B.C.): [ἐὰν δέ τι ἄλλο δοκῇ ἀπάσαις τ]αῖς πόλεσι πρ[οσθεῖναι] 2–3: συμμαχία Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἡλείων καὶ Φλειασίων.

10 *Syll.*³ 224.6–7: [ἔτι] περὶ μὲν τῆς Ἀμφικτυονείας ἐπανενεγ[κόντες] εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἕκαστοι βουλευσονται ...

11 *GRBS* 22 (1981) 49 lines 39–43: τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἐγκαθεύδοντος ὅταν ἐμβάλλει τὸ ἀργύριον

Athenian as well as non-Athenian literary sources and documents show that πόλις, used as a generic term and in headings, mostly denotes what we would call city-states, but sometimes include various other types of political community.

II

In headings and in references to a plurality of states we often meet the phrase πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη instead of just πόλεις.¹² A few examples will suffice.

Damastes of Sigeion (*FGrHist* 5) T1: γέγραφε ... ἔθνων κατάλογον καὶ πόλεων. Hdt. 5.2.2: ἤλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Μεγάβαζος διὰ τῆς Θρηκῆς, πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων ἡμερούμενος βασιλέϊ.

Dialexeis 2.9: εἶμι δ' <ἐφ'> ἃ ταὶ πόλιές τε αἰσχρὰ ἄγηνται καὶ τὰ ἔθνεα.

Pl. *Resp.* 348D: οἳ γε τελέως, ἔφη, οἱοί τε ἀδικεῖν, πόλεις τε καὶ ἔθνη δυνάμενοι ἀνθρώπων ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι

Xen. *An.* 7.1.33: προσέρχεται Κοιρατάδας Θηβαῖος, ὃς οὐ φεύγων τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιήει ἀλλὰ στρατηγιῶν καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενος, εἴ τις ἢ πόλις ἢ ἔθνος στρατιγοῦ δέοιτο.

Dem. 18.271: πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασι, μὴ μόνον κατ' ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ ἔθνη ...

IG VII 4135.24–6: ἀνενεκεῖν δὲ τὸ δόγμα τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἴδια, ὅπως εἰδῶσιν πάντες τὰ δεδογμένα τοῖς Ἀμφικτίοσιν (C3s).¹³

Used as a generic term this phrase is broader and thus more precise than the simple πόλεις. In our sources *ethnos* is often used in opposition to *polis* and then denotes either (a) a community which is not yet split up into *poleis* but settled

γράφεσθαι τὸν νεωκόρον καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐκτιθεῖν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γράφοντα ἐν πετεῦροι σκοπεῖν <τ>δὲ βουλομένοι. The law was originally dated to the late fifth century but is now dated to the early fourth century, see Knoepfler in *Chiron* 22 (1992) 452 no. 78. On a strict interpretation of this law we should expect the oracle to be accessible only to Greeks who were citizens of a named *polis*. But a third-century inventory records two regional ethnics (Αἰτωλός and Ἀκαρνάν) alongside two city-ethnics: Καρυστία, Κορίνθιος (IG VII 303.60–5), and an early third-century manumission shows that the oracle was consulted by Μόσχος Μοσχίωνος Ἰουδαῖος (SEG 15 293.10). Assuming that the classical law was still in force the inference is that the phrase τὸ ὄνομα ... τῆς πόλεως covered not just city-ethnics in the strict sense but other types of ethnic as well including ethnics of non-Greeks.

12 See A. Giovannini, *Untersuchungen über die Natur und die Anfänge der bundesstaatlichen Sympolitie in Griechenland* (Göttingen 1971) 14–6; M. Sakellariou, *The Polis State – Definition and Origin* (Athens 1989) 163–72.

13 Other examples include: Hdt. 6.27.1; 7.8γ3; 8.108.3; Theopomp. (*FGrHist* 115) fr. 263a; Isoc. 4.70; Aeschin. 3.110; Din. 1.76; Xen. *Mem.* 1.4.16; *Symp.* 4.47; *An.* 3.1.2; *Cyr.* 8.1.11; 8.6.23; 8.8.2–3; Pl. *Leg.* 697D; Arist. *Pol.* 1252b19; 1261a28; 1284a38–41; 1285b30; 1326b2–5; 1327b21–3; *Rhet.* 1360b31; IG IV².1 68.77, Epidauros 302/1 B.C.; *F. Delphes* 3.2 69.43 (C2s); *Syll.*³ 557.31 (207/6 B.C.).

kata komas,¹⁴ or (b) a community subdivided into *poleis* which, however, are united in a federation,¹⁵ or (c) a large barbarian "nation" such as the Persian empire.¹⁶ By adding ἔθνος to πόλις in headings and when a generic term is needed, the word πόλις does not have to be strained to denote a large number of communities which were not *poleis* in the strict sense; and every community known to the Greeks which was not a *polis* in the strict sense would easily fall under one of the three senses of *ethnos* (a–c). Thus, the idiom πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη was indisputably a satisfactory expression to use as a generic term or as a heading in lists of communities of different types.

Furthermore, most Greeks believed that, like themselves, barbarians were living in *ethne* of which some were subdivided into *poleis* (Hdt. 7.96.2) and accordingly ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις could be used as a comprehensive term not just for all Greek states, but also for the political communities which together made up the Persian empire (Xen. An. 3.1.2), or for all communities in the entire world (Hdt. 7.8γ3). Only Aristotle seems to draw a distinction between Hellenic *poleis* and (barbarian) *ethne* in the rest of the world (Arist. Pol. 1327b21–3; 1252b19–20 & 1285a17) whereby the *polis* becomes a characteristic of the Hellenic world.

III

In addition to the terms πόλεις and πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη there are a few variants which are uncommon but nevertheless deserve to be mentioned.

Instead of πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη there are a few occurrences of πόλεις καὶ χώραι, where χώρα is used in the rare sense of country = state and not in the ordinary sense of hinterland or territory: Dem. 25.11 ... εὐνομίαν ..., ἥ πάσας καὶ πόλεις καὶ χώρας σώζει. Arist. Pol. 1327a32–6: ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν ὁρῶμεν πολλαῖς ὑπάρχοντα καὶ χώραις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐπίνεια καὶ λιμένας εὐφύως κείμενα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ... φανερόν κτλ.¹⁷

Instead of πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη there is at least one instance of ἄστυ being used synonymously with πόλις in the sense of state, so that ἔθνη and ἄστυ together form the generic term for "states": νῦν δὲ πρὸς ξύμπαντάς γε ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι ἱκανοὶ, καὶ κατὰ πόλιν ἔτι δυνατώτεροι, ὥστε εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀθρόοι καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη

14 Arist. Pol. 1261a28: διοίσει δὲ τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ πόλις ἔθνος, ὅταν μὴ κατὰ κόμας ὧσι κεχωρισμένοι τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ' οἷον Ἀρκάδες. The last three words are a notorious crux, but the rest of the sentence shows that Aristotle takes an *ethnos* to be a region, or rather a people, settled in *komai*, cf. Thuc. 3.94.4: τὸ γὰρ ἔθνος μέγα μὲν εἶναι τὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ μάχιμον, οἰκοῦν δὲ κατὰ κόμας ἀτειχίστους, καὶ ταύτας διὰ πολλοῦ.

15 Hell. Oxy. 19.2: εἶχεν δὲ τὰ πράγματα τότε κατὰ [τῇ]ν Βοιωτίαν οὕτως. ἦσαν καθεστηκυῖαι βουλαὶ [τὸ]τε τέττα[ρες παρ'] ἐκάστη τῶν πόλεων ... 4: τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔθνος ὅλον οὕτως ἐπολιτεύετο, ...

16 Arist. Pol. 1284a38–41: τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ποιοῦσιν οἱ κύριοι τῆς δυνάμεως, οἷον Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ... ὁ δὲ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ... 1327b20–3: σχεδὸν δὴ κατανοήσειεν ἂν τις τοῦτό γε, βλέψας ἐπὶ τε τὰς πόλεις τὰς εὐδοκιμοῦσας τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὥς διείληπται τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

17 See also Thuc. 8.37.2.

καὶ ἕκαστον ἄστυ μιᾷ γνώμῃ ἀμυνούμεθα αὐτούς, δίχα γε ὄντας ἡμᾶς ἀπόνως χειρῶσονται (Thuc. 1.122.2).

In the Hellenistic period when monarchy (once again) became the prevailing form of government it was not uncommon to include a reference to *δυνασταί* and/or *βασιλεῖς*, so that the generic term for states became a fourfold phrase: ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς δυνάστας καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη (OGIS 229.11, 246–26 B.C.).¹⁸

IV

The Greeks had two different words for what we with a collective term call states or nations or countries, namely *polis* and *ethnos*, but of these it was obviously *polis* which became the dominant and generic term par excellence, as is apparent from the following observation: as demonstrated in Section I *supra* the word *πόλεις* is often used synonymously with the longer, but more correct term *πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη*, whereas, conversely, there is virtually no example of the word *ἔθνος* being used synonymously with the whole phrase *πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη*. The only possible attestation I have found is the epigram in which the Athenians commemorate their double victory in 506 B.C. over first the Chalkidians and then the Boiotians: ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες / παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐμ πολέμοι / δεσμοὶ ἐν ἀχνύεντι σιδερεοὶ ἔσβεσαν ὑβρίν / τὸν ἵππος δεκάτεν Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 15a–b). Here the term *ethnos* covers one *ethnos* (the Boiotians) and one *polis* (Chalkis) but this isolated poetic use of *ethnos* to denote a *polis* as well as an *ethnos* is insufficient to show that *ethnos*, like *polis*, could be used as a generic term for *πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη*.

V

After this survey of the various idioms used by the Greeks to denote what we call “states” or “nations” or “countries” I will return to the term *polis*. A new meaning of the word *polis* gradually developed from its frequent use as a generic term covering all types of state. In lists of states headed by the term *polis* most were in fact *poleis* in the strict sense, i.e. small self-governing communities of citizens living in an urban centre and its hinterland. But, as pointed out above, some were federal states composed of *poleis* and some were peoples ruled by a monarch. In our sources such states are occasionally called *poleis* not only when they are recorded in a long list side by side with proper *poleis* but sometimes even when they are referred to individually. Let me adduce some examples.

18 Diod. 19.57.3: τὰ τ' ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις καὶ δυνάστας προσεκαλεῖτο εἰς συμμαχίαν (314 B.C.); Syll.³ 590.11 (ca. 196 B.C.); *I. Magnesia* 16.31 = Syll.³ 557 = SEG 32 1147, cf. M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 1953) III 1439 n. 277.

The Persian empire is called *polis* both in Aischylos' *The Persae* and in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* ¹⁹

During the reign of Dionysios I most of the Hellenic *poleis* in Sicily were subjected to Syracuse and in his Seventh Letter Plato states that Dionysios had made all of Sicily into one *polis*.²⁰

In the *Constitution of the Thessalian Federation* by Aristotle or one of his pupils *polis* is used as a designation of the entire Thessalian state.²¹

When the Chaonian people in the mid-fourth century consulted the oracle of Zeus at Dodona they called their own community a *polis*²² although at that time the Chaonians were settled *kata komas*²³ and must have been an *ethnos* rather than a *polis*.

These examples show that there was a tendency to adopt the word *polis* as a name for every kind of state and not just for what we call city-states. As is well known the word *polis* had four different meanings namely (in chronological order): (1) stronghold, (2) city, (3) country and (4) state. In the light of the above observations, however, the sense of state can be subdivided into two categories: (4a) *polis* in the strict sense, i.e. a small self-governing community of citizens living in an urban centre and its hinterland; (4b) *polis* in a wider sense, i.e. any kind of state including so-called tribal states (The Chaonians or Aitolia in the 5th century), federations (Thessaly or Akarnania), empires composed of *poleis* (Sicily), nations (Macedon) and even the Persian Empire. There are only a few attestations of *polis* used in sense (4b), but they are enough to show that in the Classical period *polis* became not only the generic term for what we call state, but also a proper word to use about any individual self-governing political community. This sense of *polis* gains ground in the Hellenistic period and I find it appropriate to end this short article with quoting what Polybios says about the Achaian Confederacy: καὶ νόμοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ σταθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις καὶ

19 Aesch. *Pers.* 213, 511–2 – in both passages the poet speaks from the Greek perspective, as if the Persian Wars had been a war between two *poleis*; Xen. *Cyr.* 1.3.18; 1.4.25; 1.5.7. See Sakellariou (*supra* n. 12) 172–3.

20 Pl. *Ep.* VII 332C: Διονύσιος δὲ εἰς μίαν πόλιν ἀθροίσας πᾶσαν Σικελίαν, ὑπὸ σοφίας πιστεύων οὐδενί, μόγις ἐσώθη – Syracuse was a *polis* in the proper sense, and by expansion Syracuse came to rule over all of Sicily, just like Sparta, a proper *polis*, came to rule over all of Lakonia and Messenia.

21 Arist. fr. 498, Rose = Schol. Vat. ad Eurip. *Rhes.* 307: ... καθάπερ φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Θεσσαλῶν πολιτείᾳ γράφων οὕτως διελὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν Ἀλεῦας ἔταξε κατὰ τὸν κλῆρον παρέχειν ἐκάστους, ἱππέας μὲν τεσσαρακοντα, ὀπλίτας δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα ... The MSS have τὴν πόλιν which Rose has changed into τὰς πόλεις. Gigon (fr. 504.1) conjectures πολιτείαν without even indicating that there is a textual problem(!), see J.A.O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States* (Oxford 1968) 17. Cf. also IG II² 96, a treaty in which one *polis* (Kerkyra) and two federations (Akarnania and Kephallenia) are referred to as being *poleis*, cf. Dreher (*supra* n. 7) 179–81.

22 SEG 15 397: ἀγαθὰ τύχα. – αἰτεῖται ἅ πόλεις ἅ τῶν Χαόνων τὸν Δία τὸν Νᾶον καὶ τὰν Διώναν ἀνελεῖν εἰ λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον καὶ συμφορώτερόν ἐστι τὸν ναὸν τὸν τᾶς Ἀθῆνας τᾶς Πολιάδος ἀγχωρίξαντας ποιεῖν. The self-description of the Chaonians as a *polis* may be due to the fact that their consultation concerns the temple of Athena Polias.

23 Ps.-Skylax 28: οἰκοῦσι δὲ κατὰ κόμας οἱ Χάονες.

νομίμασι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄρχουσι, βουλευταῖς, δικασταῖς, τοῖς αὐτοῖς, καθόλου δὲ τούτῳ μόνῳ διαλάττειν τοῦ μὴ μιᾶς πόλεως διάθεσιν ἔχειν σχεδὸν τὴν σύμπασαν Πελοπόννησον, τῷ μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν περίβολον ὑπάρχειν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν αὐτήν, τᾶλλα δ' εἶναι καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστοις ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια (Polyb. 2.37.11).

Mogens Herman Hansen
The Copenhagen Polis Centre

HEKATAIOS' USE OF THE WORD *POLIS* IN HIS *PERIEGESIS*

by

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

One of the oldest literary works in which a large number of Greek settlements are listed as being *poleis* is also one of the oldest treatises written in prose, viz., Hekataios' *Periegesis* composed around 500 B.C. The work is lost but in some 295 entries the lexicographer Stephanos either cites or quotes Hekataios as his source,¹ and in 175 cases the reference to Hekataios is connected with the classification of a named locality as a *polis*. With two exceptions Stephanos is in fact the only source we have got for Hekataios' use of the term *polis*.² The 173 other occurrences of the word in Jacoby's collection of fragments of Hekataios stem from Stephanos' *Ethnika*. We must therefore examine to what extent it is possible from Stephanos' lexicon to reconstruct Hekataios' system of site-classifications and in particular his use of the term *polis*. From this point of view Stephanos' references to Hekataios' work can be subdivided into three groups:

(a) Stephanos quotes Hekataios verbatim and the term *polis* is part of the quotation, e.g. fr. 141 = Steph. 693.7–9: Χίος ἡ ἐπιφανεστάτη νῆσος τῶν Ἰώνων, ἔχουσα καὶ πόλιν ὁμώνυμον. Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ "Χίος κατὰ Ἐρυθράς, ἐν δὲ πόλιν Χίος."

(b) Stephanos cites Hekataios in a way which shows that Hekataios must have used the term *polis* in the passage cited, e.g. fr. 131 = Steph. 393.20–1: Κῦνος, ἐπίνειον Ὀπούντος, ὡς Φίλων καὶ Πανσανίας. Ἐκαταῖος δὲ πόλιν αὐτὴν φησιν.

(c) Stephanos classifies a named locality as a *polis* and cites Hekataios without indicating whether Hekataios is the authority for the toponym only or for the site-classification as well, e.g. fr. 115 = Steph. 385.4: Κρῖσα, πόλιν Φωκίδος. Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ, or fr. 74 = Steph. 592.17–8: Συράκουσαι, πόλιν Σικελίας μεγίστη, ὡς Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ.

The careful study of Stephanos' site-classifications carried out by D. Whitehead³ has shown that Stephanos is remarkably reliable when he quotes his sources; but if he only cites his source a check of Stephanos' way of citing known

1 Problems with Stephanos' text makes it impossible to name an exact figure, cf. e.g. 681.1.

2 The two exceptions are fr. 166, taken from Herodian's *περὶ μονήρων λέξεως*, and fr. 217 for which the source is Strabo 12.3.22. A third possible instance is Harp. s.v. Galepsos, see *Addenda* to fr. 152.

3 D. Whitehead, "Site-Classification and Reliability in Stephanus of Byzantium," *CPC Papers* 1 (1994) 99–124.

authors reveals that we cannot be sure that the site-classification stems from Stephanos' source. One example is Steph. 298.22: 'Ηιών, πόλις ἐν χερρονήσῳ, ὡς Θουκυδίδης. The toponym Eion occurs 14 times in Thucydides. In one passage Eion is called an *emporion* (4.102.3) and in the other 13 passages the toponym is left without any site-classification.⁴ Stephanos may have taken the classification of Eion as a *polis* from Herodotos (7.113.1) or from some other unknown source. In my opinion Eion was a *polis*. Herodotos (and Stephanos) are right about the classification,⁵ but we cannot cite Thucydides as a source.

Whitehead concludes (page 117) that "within the sample tested, Stephanos reproduces the site-classifications he found in his sources correctly in some 60% of cases and incorrectly in 7%, with the remaining 33% accounted for, seemingly, by assumptions or guesswork on his part." If we differentiate between the authors tested by Whitehead the conclusion is that Stephanos seems to have reproduced a site-classification found in his source more frequently when he cites a geographer (Strabo or Pausanias) and less frequently when his source is a historian (Thucydides or Xenophon). For the first group ca. 75% of all site-classifications stem from the source cited, for the second group of authors the proportion is ca. 50% (pages 117–9). Since Hekataios must count as a geographer, a rough guess is that the term *polis*, as printed in Jacoby's *FGrHist*, may go back to Hekataios' work in three cases out of four. But these figures, though impressive, are not good enough for an investigation of how Hekataios used the term *polis*. The direct quotations of Hekataios' work show that, like Ps.-Skylax and other geographers, he sometimes used other site-classifications such as *teichos* (fr. 299), or *hieron* (fr. 305, 319), or *limen* (fr. 106, 343), and some fragments reveal that he could leave a toponym without any site-classification, and in such cases the term *polis* was demonstrably added by Stephanos and not found in his source (fr. 80, 275). Consequently, we must discard all the fragments in which Hekataios is only cited (group [c] above) and concentrate on the fragments in which Stephanos either quotes Hekataios verbatim or makes it clear that the site-classification comes from his source (groups [a] and [b] above). We are then left with the following thirty named localities explicitly classified by Hekataios as *poleis* (Hellenic *poleis* in italics).

Sixos (Spain), fr. 43.

Hyops (Spain), fr. 48.

Ixias (the Oinotrians), fr. 67.

Menekine (the Oinotrians), fr. 67.

Katane (Sicily), fr. 73.

Chandane (Iapygians & Peuketians), fr. 88.

Bouthrotos (Epeiros), fr. 106.

- 4 Thuc. 1.98.1; 4.50.1; 4.104.5; 4.106.3, 4; 4.107.1, 2; 4.108.1; 5.6.1, 2; 5.103.8, 10. The Mendian *apoikia* Eion mentioned by Thuc. at 4.7.1 was probably different from the Eion on the Strymon, see A.W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides III* (Oxford 1956) 442.
- 5 M.H.Hansen, "Πολλάχῳς Πόλις Λέγεται (Arist. *Pol.* 1276a23). The Copenhagen Inventory of *Poleis* and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*," *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 44.

Chaleion (Lokris), fr. 113.
Oianthea (Lokris), fr. 113.
Chaironeia (Boiotia), fr. 116.⁶
Thorikos (Attika), fr. 126.
Chalkis (Euboia), fr. 129.
Kynos (Eastern Lokris), fr. 131.
Chios (Ionia), fr. 141.
Therme (Macedon), fr. 146.
Chalastre (Macedon), fr. 146.
Smila (Thrace), fr. 148.
Maroneia (Thrace), fr. 159.
Chersonesos (Thrace), fr. 163.
Boryza (Thrace), fr. 166 (Herodian).
Choirades (the Pontic Region), fr. 204.
Hermonassa (the Pontic Region), fr. 208.
Alazia (Phrygia), fr. 217 (Strabo).
Gryneia (Aiolis), fr. 225.
Sidoussa (Ionia), fr. 229.
Nagidos (Cilicia), fr. 266.
Parikane (Media), fr. 282.
Hyope (Media and Armenia), fr. 287.
Chorasmie (east of Parthia), fr. 293.
Atharambe (Egypt), fr. 304.

Thirteen of the thirty settlements classified by Hekataios as *poleis* are barbarian, and several of them are unknown from other sources, namely: *Sixos* (no entry in *RE*), *Hyops* (no entry in *RE*), *Ixias* (*RE* X 1373), *Menekine* (*RE* XV.1 795–6), *Chandane* (no entry in *RE*), *Boryza* (*RE* III.1 739–40) and *Hyope* (no entry in *RE*). – *Therme* and *Chalastre* are two of the many Macedonian towns which were generally described as *poleis* by Greek authors.⁷ *Therme* is called *polis* in the urban sense by Herodotos at 7.124.1 and by Ps.-Skylax at 66; but *chorion* by Aischines at 2.27. The attribution to *Therme* of some late Archaic coins rests on no strong evidence.⁸ *Chalastre* is mentioned by Herodotos at 7.123.3 but without any explicit site-classification. The site is not known from any other Classical source. – According to Hekataios, as paraphrased by Strabo, *Alazia* was a deserted city in the land inhabited by the *Alazones* (*RE* I.1 1298). – *Parikane* (no entry in *RE*) must be an otherwise unknown town in the tenth Persian satrapy inhabited by the *Parikanioi* (Hdt. 3.92.1). – According to Hekataios (fr. 292 = Ath. 2.70B), *Chorasmie* was a town in the land inhabited by the *Chorasmioi* and a

6 *Χαῖρώνεια* is an universally accepted emendation for the MSS *κορώνεια*. See M.H.Hansen, "Boiotian *Poleis* – A Test Case," *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 55 n. 44.

7 N.G.L. Hammond, *The Macedonian State* (Oxford 1989) 93; M. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings I* (Athen 1996) 106–7.

8 Head *HN*² 203, Kraay 141 (Zahrnt [*infra* n. 29] 188–9). For the identification and remains of *Therme* see N.G.L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia I* (Oxford 1972) 150–1.

part of the sixteenth Persian satrapy (Hdt. 3.93.3).⁹ – Atharambe is usually identified with the well-known town Athribis in Lower Egypt (*RE* II.2 2070–1). It is worth noting that in three cases the name of the *polis* is obviously derived from the name of the people, and in all three cases other sources refer to the people, but not to the *polis*. 'Αλαζία is derived from 'Αλάζονες (e.g. Hdt. 4.17.1; 4.52.3), Παρικάνη from Παρικάνιοι (e.g. Hdt. 3.92.1), and Χορασμία from Χοράσμιοι (e.g. Hdt. 3.93.3; 3.117.1). In these cases Hekataios may himself have generated the toponyms from the ethnics. In fact, only two of the thirteen Barbarian *poleis* listed above are known to have been a town, viz., Therme in Macedon and Atharambe (Athribis) in Egypt; and none of the thirteen is known for sure to have been a *polis* in the political sense.

It is indeed illuminating to see how Hekataios used the term *polis* of barbarian communities; but for an investigation of the concept of *polis* in Archaic and Classical Greece the essential issue is how he applied the word to Hellenic communities. It is a fair assumption that in his *Periegesis* Hekataios intended to use *polis* in the urban sense of the term and we must therefore examine first whether the settlements listed by Hekataios are called *poleis* in the urban sense in other sources, and second whether they were taken to be *poleis* in the political sense as well. The evidence is set out below for all seventeen settlements, listed in alphabetical order.

Bouthrotos was a town on the coast of Epeiros opposite Korkyra (Strabo 7.7.5). It was an important settlement in the Roman period (*RE* III.1 1084–5) but is unattested in Archaic and Classical sources apart from the note in Stephanos who quotes Hekataios: 'Εκαταῖος λιμένα καλεῖ 'Ηπείρου τὸν 'Ωρικὸν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ. “μετὰ δὲ Βουθρωτὸς πόλις, μετὰ δὲ 'Ωρικός λιμήν” (fr. 106 = Steph. 709.16–8). It is unlikely that there was a *polis* in Epeiros as early as 500 B.C., unless it was a Greek colony. There is no tradition of a Greek colony, but excavations have yielded Proto-Corinthian, Corinthian and Attic pottery of the seventh to the fifth centuries B.C.¹⁰ It is perfectly possible that there was a Greek colony unattested but for the quote from Hekataios, cf. Choirades below.

Chaironeia. Apart from Hekataios there is no attestation of Chaironeia being called *polis* in the urban sense, but its circuit of walls of Cyclopean masonry go back to the Archaic period (see Hansen in *CPCActs* 3 [1996] 82). Chaironeia is called *polis* in the political sense by Thucydides at 4.76.3 compared with 4.89.2 (see Hansen in *CPCActs* 2 [1995] 21–4) and by the Oxyrhynchos historian (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3, see Hansen *ibidem* 15–7).

Chaleion is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Tod, *GHI* 34 A.4, a treaty between Oianthea and Chaleion of ca. 450 B.C. From the treaty, and especially its mention of metics (A.8) and citizens (Φασστός B.4, probably of Oianthea where the

⁹ See B. Bosworth, *Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander II* (Oxford 1995) 104 ad 4.15.4.

¹⁰ N.G.L. Hammond, *Epirus* (Oxford 1967) 474.

document was found), we can infer that both the contracting parties were *poleis* in the political as well as in the urban sense of the term. The Chaleians are mentioned already ca. 500–475 B.C. in the East Lokrian law about the colony at Naupaktos (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20.47).

Chalkis is called *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax at 58 and in the political sense by Herodotos at 8.46.2 (cf. 42.2 & 49.1) and in the treaty between Athens and Chalkis of 446/5 B.C. (*IG* I³ 40.5).

Chersonesos, viz., ἡ Θρακία Χερρόνησος (Ps.-Skylax 67) is the name of the whole peninsula (e.g. Hdt. 6.34.1; *IG* I³ 71.III.79) north of the Hellespont from the promontory Mazousia (Strabo 7 fr. 51) and up to the wall across the isthmus (Hdt. 6.36.2) built by the elder Miltiades ca. 550 B.C. when the Athenians, invited by the local Thracians, had colonized the peninsula (Hdt. 6.36.1). It is clear from Herodotos' account that Miltiades and his successors ruled the entire peninsula and that the ethnic Χερσονησίται was used as a common designation for all the Greeks who lived south of the wall.¹¹ But it is also clear from the sources that the peninsula was divided between a number of *poleis*,¹² of which three are mentioned in other fragments of Hekataios,¹³ three in Herodotos,¹⁴ six in the tribute lists,¹⁵ and twelve are recorded in Ps.-Skylax.¹⁶ According to Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.10, there were eleven or twelve *poleis* altogether. The common ethnic and a common mint¹⁷ suggest that, after the abolition of tyranny, the *poleis* must have been united in some kind of league or federation.

Hekataios says that Chersonesos was a *polis* and that it bordered on the Apsinthioi: "ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖσι πόλις Χερρόνησος ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς χερρονήσου." καὶ τὸν πολίτην Χερρονήσιόν φησι. "Ἀψινθίοισι πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ὁμουρέουσι <Χερρονήσιοι.>" Ἡρόδοτος δὲ Χερρονησίτης (fr. 163). A Hellespontine *polis* by the name of Chersonesos is also mentioned in a scholion on Aristophanes,¹⁸ but is unknown from other sources; and the three *poleis* south of the wall were Kardia facing the north coast, Paktye facing the south coast (Hdt. 6.36.2; Strabo 7 fr. 53) and Agore in the inland between Kardia and Paktye (Hdt. 7.58.2). It cannot be precluded that Hekataios from the name of the inhabitants of the peninsula "invented" a homonymous *polis*¹⁹ (see fr. 217, 283, 293 and *supra* page 20). But

11 Hdt. 6.38.1; *IG* I³ 259.II.28 & 260.X.6; Dem. 7.43.

12 Hdt. 6.39.2; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.10; 4.8.5; Ps.-Skylax 67.

13 Limnai (fr. 164) and Madytos (fr. 165). – Kypasis (fr. 162) was *near* (περὶ) but probably not *in* Hellespontos.

14 Kardia, Paktye and Agore, see *infra*.

15 Alopekonesos, Agore, Elaious, Limnai, Madytos and Sestos (e.g. *IG* I³ 271.I.34–6, II. 33–6).

16 Ps.-Skylax 67: Kardia, Ide, Paion, Alopekonesos, Araplous, Elaious, Madytos, Sestos, Kressa, Krithote, Paktye and Agora.

17 Head 257 (ca. 515–493 B.C.): Obv.: Lion with fore-paw raised and head reverted. Rev.: Incuse square; Archaic head of Athena; some have the legend: XEP.

18 Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 262: Χερρόνησος τῆς Θράκης χωρίον καὶ πόλις, ὑποτελὴς τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

19 For an excellent discussion of the problem see L. Loukopoulou, *Contribution à l'histoire de la Thrace Propontique* (Athens 1989) 73 n. 3.

it is not unparalleled to have the same name for the whole peninsula and for one of the *poleis* situated on the peninsula, cf. the Taurian Chersonesos (Theophr. *Hist.pl.* 7.13.8) and the homonymous *polis* Chersonesos (*Syll.*³ 360.5). Furthermore, the scholion on Aristophanes may be a reliable source and does not seem to have come from Hekataios. Thus, it is more likely that one of the three *poleis* south of the wall was originally called Chersonesos but later changed its name to either Kardia, or Agore or Paktye. Kardia and Agore have both been proposed. The coins have been adduced in favour of Kardia: "the obverse type of a lion with head reverted is associated with Miletus and suggests that the mint was the Milesian foundation, Cardia, the principal city of the Chersonese."²⁰ But the evidence of the tribute lists points to Agore: the ethnic Χερσονεσῖται is found in two different senses: in the 450s it is used to denote all the citizens living in the peninsula who at that time contributed 18 talents.²¹ But from 447/6 onwards, when the *poleis* began to pay individually, the citizens of Agore are referred to either as Χερρονεσῖται (*IG* I³ 265.I.92) or as Χερρονεσῖται ἀπ' Ἀγορᾶς (*IG* I³ 277.V.9–10), whereas the other *poleis* have their own ethnics: Σέστιοι, Μαδύτιοι etc. Kardia is not recorded in the tribute lists but the ethnic Καρδιανοί is attested in, e.g., Dem. 7.39. Χερρονησίτης as a city-ethnic was probably derived from the toponym Χερρόνησος used as the name of a town, and we may presume that, at some point during the first half of the fifth century, Chersonesos changed its name to Agore, but, instead of developing a new city-ethnic, used the phrase: Χερρονεσῖται ἀπ' Ἀγορᾶς. To sum up, the most likely clue to an insoluble problem is, in my opinion, to suppose that either Kardia or Agore was once called Chersonesos.

Chios is called *polis* in the urban sense by Herodotos (1.142.4; 6.27.2), by Thucydides (8.14.1; 8.34.1; 8.38.2) and by Xenophon (*Hell.* 2.1.2, 2.1.3). It is called *polis* in the political sense by Herodotos at 2.178.2 and in a document about interstate arbitration of 391–88 B.C. (Tod, *GHI* 113.18 & 38).

Choirades was a *polis* in the Pontic region near Trapezous: Χοιράδες. πόλις Μοσσυνοίκων. Ἑκαταῖος Ἀσία (conjecture for MS. Εὐρώπη). "Τιβερηνοῖσι δὲ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα Μοσσύνοικοι ὁμουργέουσιν. ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι Χοιράδες πόλις" (fr. 204). The only other source is Ps.-Skylax 86 who describes Choirades as a *polis Hellenis*. If Choirades was a Greek colony centred on a *polis* in the urban sense, as stated by both Hekataios and Ps.-Skylax, it seems reasonable to suppose that it was a *polis* in the political sense too, cf. Bouthrotos above.

Gryneia is probably classified by Hekataios as a *polis*. Stephanos s.v. Γρύνοι has: πολίχνην Μυριναίων ... Ἑκαταῖος δὲ τὴν πόλιν Γρύνειαν καλεῖ. The opposition between Stephanos' own classification of Gryneia as a *polichnion* and his citation of Hekataios strongly suggests that Hekataios did use the term *polis* in his reference to Gryneia. Gryneia is called *polis* in the urban sense by Herodotos

20 C.M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London 1976) 158.

21 *IG* I³ 259.II.28; 260.X.6; 261.II.31; 263.V.12.

(1.149.1) and Xenophon (*Hell.* 3.1.6). The Γρυνεῖς are recorded in the Athenian tribute lists (*IG* I³ 265.I.17), and the ethnic Γρυνεῖς is attested in a *psephisma* quoted by Krateros (*FGrHist* 342) fr. 2. Taken together these four sources strongly indicate that Gryneia was a *polis* in the political sense too. See Nielsen in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 89–90.

Hermonassa was a joint colony of Miletos and Mytilene situated on the Asian side of the Bosphorus on a small island of the delta of the River Kuban. The oldest remains are dated roughly to the period ca. 575–50 B.C.²² The reference to Hekataios stems from Stephanos' entry (278.10–5): 'Ερμώνασσα, νῆσος μικρά, πόλιν ἔχουσα, ἐν τῷ Κιμμερίῳ Βοσπόρῳ, Ἰώνων ἀποικον, ὡς ὁ περιηγητής.²³ ταύτην ὁ Σκύμνος καὶ Ἑρμῶνειαν καλεῖ.²⁴ Στράβων ἐν ἐβδόμῃ Ἑρμῶνακτος κώμην φησί (7.3.16). Μένιππος δὲ χωρίον Τραπεζοῦντος ἐν περίπλῳ τῶν δύο πόντων.²⁵ Ἐκαταῖος δὲ καὶ Θεόπομπος (*FGrHist* 115 fr. 370) πόλιν αὐτὴν φασιν. A crucial problem raised by this entry is that, in the Pontic region, there were two different settlements called Hermonassa: the colony on the Asian side of the Bosphorus and a small place on the south coast near Trapezous (cf. Strabo 12.3.17 and Arr. *Peripl.M.Eux.* 23). Menippos' reference is to the Hermonassa near Trapezous but both Dionysios, Ps.-Skymnos and Strabo describe the Bosporan Hermonassa; Stephanos' entry is obviously about the Bosporan Hermonassa, and there is no trace of his regular indication (e.g. ἄλλη *vel sim.*) that he adds a reference to a new, homonymous, site. I conclude, *pace* Jacoby *ad* Theopomp. fr. 370, that Stephanos erroneously believed that the Bosporan Hermonassa was a Trapezuntian possession, that the reference to Menippos is a mistake, and that it is the Bosporan colony which both Hekataios and Theopompos described as a *polis*.

Katane was a colony founded by the Chalkidians in 729 B.C. It is called *polis* by Thucydides in the urban sense at 6.51.1 and 6.64.2–3, and in the political sense at 6.20.1 & 3; 7.14.2.

Kynos was one of the East Lokrian settlements mentioned in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* (Hom. *Il.* 2.531). According to Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4) fr. 117, Kynos and not Opous was the home of Deukalion and Pyrrha. If we can trust Gronov's emendation of Ps.-Skylax 60 (Κῦνος, Ὅποϋς for the MS Κυνόσουρος), Kynos was still classified as a *polis* in the urban sense in the mid-fourth century. In the Roman period, however, it was just the port of Opous (ἐπίνειον, Paus 10.1.2). Ancient Kynos has been identified with the remains found at modern Livanátes.²⁶

22 G. Tsatskheladze, "Greek Penetration of the Black Sea," in G. Tsatskheladze and F. De Angelis (eds.), *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation* (Oxford 1994) 120; J. Hind, "The Bosporan Kingdom," *CAH*² VI (1994) 484.

23 Dionysius *Periegetes*, ed. G. Bernhardt (Leipzig 1828) 552–3.

24 Ps.-Scymnus, *Orbis Descriptio* 886–9 in *GGM* I (Paris 1855) 233.

25 In *GGM* I (Paris 1855) 572 fr. 1.

26 J.M. Fossey, *The Ancient Topography of Opountian Lokris* (Amsterdam 1990) 81–4.

The East Lokrians were organized in a kind of federal state as early as ca. 500–475 B.C. (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20). Opous was the capital but the federation comprised a number of *poleis*, each with its own *agora* (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20.21).²⁷ On the reasonable assumption that Kynos was one of these *poleis*, there is no reason to question Hekataios' classification of Kynos as a *polis*.

Maroneia was a colony founded by the Chians before ca. 650 B.C. It is called *polis* in the urban sense by Herodotos 7.109.1 and by Ps.-Skylax at 67. That it was a *polis* in the political sense is indicated by its membership of the Delian League (*IG* I³ 260.VI.19) and again of the Second Athenian Naval League (*IG* II² 43.A.87); a *theorodokos* was appointed ca. 360 (*IG* IV².1 94.Ib.29), and coins were struck from ca. 500 onwards (Head 248–52; A.B. West in *NNM* 40 [1929]).

Nagidos was a colony founded by the Samians in the Archaic period. It is called *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax at 102. That it was a *polis* in the political sense as well is indicated by its coinage of ca. 420–333 (Head 725–6).

Oianthea is called a *polis* in the urban sense at Tod, *GHI* 34 A.4, a treaty between Oianthea and Chaleion of ca. 450 B.C and by Ps.-Skylax at 36. From the treaty, and especially its mention of metics (A.8) and citizens (Φασστός B.4, probably of Oianthea where the document was found), we can infer that both the contracting parties were *poleis* in the political as well as in the urban sense of the term. The ethnic Οϊανθέος is found already in a sepulchral inscription of the late 7th century (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 4.2).

Sidoussa. The Σιδόσιοι are listed ten times in the preserved fragments of the Athenian tribute lists: *IG* I³ 263.II.15 (450/49); 264.III.30 (448/7); 265.I.61 (447/6); 269.I.25 (443/2); 270.I.26 (442/1); 271.I.19 (441/0); 272.II.18 (440/39); 273.II.2 (439/8); 274.III.7 (438/7); 281.I.24 and 61 (430/29) (the ethnic is completely restored in 272 and 273). Every time they appear side by side with the Ἐρυθραῖοι, the Πολιχναῖοι (-ῖται), the Πτελεόσιοι, the Βουθειεῖς and the Ἐλαιόσιοι. With one possible exception (*IG* I³ 274) the Erythraioi are recorded as the first of the six communities, and the presumption is that the five others were dependencies dominated by Erythrai. In the years 450/49 to 447/6 the six communities form a *synteleia*; from 442/1 to 438/7 they pay individually. In 433/2 the tribute is paid by the Ἐρυθραῖοι καὶ χ[συντελεῖς] (*IG* I³ 279.I.48–9); and in 430/29 the five small communities are recorded after Erythrai but as communities belonging to Erythrai ([Σιδόσιοι] Ἐρυθραίων [*IG* I³ 281.I.24]) and similar entries for the other four), but later in the same inscription (61) they are recorded with their own ethnic without any mention of their dependent status. In later tribute lists and in the assessment decree of 425/4 we meet the Βουθειεῖς (*IG* I³ 282.IV.38; 283.III.29; 284.II.1) the Ἐλαιόσιοι (*IG* I³ 284.II.2–3; 71.II.151) the Πολιχναῖοι (*IG* I³ 283.III.30; 71.I.145) and the Πτελεόσιοι (*IG* I³ 71.II.93),

27 J.A.O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States* (Oxford 1968) 48–58.

sometimes recorded as belonging to Erythrai; yet – and no doubt accidentally – there is no further reference to the Σιδόσιοι. *Synteleiai* were usually formed by grouping *poleis* together and not by severing civic subdivisions from a *polis* to which they formerly belonged.²⁸ Thus, the presumption is that the five small communities listed after the Erythraioi in the tribute lists were small *poleis* dependent on Erythrai. Now, Sidoussa is described by Thucydides as an Athenian *teichos* situated on an island in the territory of Erythrai: ἐκ τε Οἰνουσσῶν τῶν πρὸ Χίου νήσων καὶ ἐκ Σιδούσσης καὶ ἐκ Πτελεοῦ ἃ ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθραίᾳ εἶχον τείχη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Λέσβου ὁρμώμενοι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Χίους πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐποιοῦντο (Thuc. 8.24.2). But Thucydides' description of Sidoussa as a *teichos* is not in conflict with the evidence of the tribute lists which indicates that it was a dependent *polis*. Numerous sources show that a *teichos* could be a (dependent) *polis*, cf. e.g. Mesambria which was both a fortress and a *polis* dependent on Samothrake: παραμείβετο δὲ πορευόμενος (Xerxes) ἐκ Δορίσκου πρῶτα μὲν τὰ Σαμοθρήκια τείχεα, τῶν ἐσχάτη πεπόλισται πρὸς ἐσπέρης πόλιν τῇ οὐνομά ἐστι Μεσαμβρίη (Hdt. 7.108.2).

Hekataios classified Sidoussa as a *polis* in the urban sense. The other sources indicate that, in the second half of the fifth century, it was a dependent *polis* lying in the territory of Erythrai. Combining the sources, I suggest that in ca. 500 B.C. Sidoussa may have been an independent *polis* which later became an Erythraian dependency, or it may already have been a dependent *polis*, dominated by Erythrai. In any case there is no reason to doubt that Sidoussa in ca. 500 B.C. was a *polis* in the political sense of the term.

Smila is called a *polis* by Herodotos at 7.123.2. The term is used principally in the urban sense but probably in the political sense too. Σμίλλα is recorded among other *poleis* in Krousis in the Athenian tribute lists under the heading: πόλεες ἡδὲ ἡ[οὶ] ἰδιῶται ἐνέ[γ]ραφσαν φόρον φέρεν (IG I³ 278.VI.18–21 & 31). A combination of these two pieces of information strongly suggests that *Smila* was a *polis* both in the urban and in the political sense of the term.

Thorikos is classified by Hekataios as a *polis*. The source is, as always, Stephanos who under the entry *Thorikos* says that it is “a *demos* belonging to the tribe *Akamantis*; but Hekataios calls it a *polis*.” Θορικὸς, δῆμος τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος φυλῆς. Ἐκαταῖος δὲ πόλιν αὐτὴν φησιν (fr. 126). As stated above, there is no reason to doubt that Hekataios did in fact describe *Thorikos* as a *polis*, but in which of his treatises? The passage about *Thorikos* is universally believed to have come from the *Periegesis Ges*, and in Jacoby it is placed among other fragments from Book 1 about Europe. The inference is that Hekataios must have taken *Thorikos* to be a *polis* in the period around 500 B.C., and the passage is sometimes adduced in support of the view that the ancient Greeks could use the term *polis* in a loose sense of dependencies or even municipalities which, at most,

28 ATL I (1939) 446–9; W. Schuller, *Die Herrschaft der Athener im Ersten Attischen Seebund* (Berlin 1974) 58–60.

could be called *poleis* in the urban sense of the word.²⁹ But to call late sixth-century Thorikos a *polis* even in the urban sense is strange indeed, no matter whether the classification concerns the period immediately before or after Kleisthenes' reform; and a study of the context in which the fragment belongs may lead to an alternative interpretation.

No less than 243 out of Stephanos' 295 references to Hekataios are to the *Periegesis*, but 8 are to the *Genealogiai*, and there are 45 references to Hekataios without indication of the work cited. The note about Thorikos is one of those in which Stephanos does not specify the work from which he cites, and we cannot rule out the possibility that it belongs to the *Genealogiai*. Admittedly, one would assume that a source for a classification of a site as a *polis* seems to fit the *Periegesis* much better than the *Genealogiai*, but Stephanos has in fact some references to Hekataios which one would expect to have come from the *Periegesis*, but which are nevertheless explicitly said to have been taken from the *Genealogiai*, cf. fr. 3: 'Αμφαναί. πόλις Δωρική. 'Εκαταῖος ἐν α' Γενεαλογιῶν, or fr. 4: Οἶνη. πόλις Ἀργούς. 'Εκαταῖος Ἰστοριῶν α'. In Jacoby's collection of fragments, all the 45 references in Stephanos to Hekataios without indication of the work cited have been attributed to the *Periegesis*, but several of them should probably be attributed to the *Genealogiai* instead. One example is fr. 118 (= Steph. 206.12–14): Γέφυρα, πόλις Βοιωτίας. τινὲς δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι καὶ Ταναγραίους φασίν, ὡς Στράβων καὶ Ἐκαταῖος. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Γεφυραία ἢ Δηώ. The reference to Demeter Gephyraia, which seems to stem from Hekataios,³⁰ strongly suggests that this fragment should be moved to the *Genealogiai*.

If Hekataios' classification of Thorikos as a *polis* comes from the *Genealogiai* and not from the *Periegesis*, it belongs in a different context. The subject of the *Genealogiai* lies midway between mythology and history. Thorikos was one of the twelve Attic *poleis* before Attika was synoikised by Theseus (Philoch. [*FGrHist* 328] fr. 94), and Hekataios' classification of Thorikos as a *polis* probably concerns the period before the synoikism; the term *polis* must then be understood in the political sense, and Hekataios is telling precisely the same story as Thucydides at 2.15: it was generally believed that, before Theseus, Attika was split up in a number of self-governing *poleis*. According to the tradition one of these *poleis* was Thorikos. This interpretation of Hekataios fr. 126 makes much better sense than the unparalleled classification of the *demos* Thorikos as a *polis*.

To sum up: around 500 B.C. Chaironeia, Chaleion, Chalkis, Chios, Gryneia, Hermonassa, Katane, Maroneia, Nagidos, Oianthea and Smila were Greek *poleis* both in the urban and in the political sense. Bouthrotos and Choirades may well have been Greek colonies, and Kynos seems to have been one of the East Lokrian *poleis* which, as early as 500 B.C., had formed a league or perhaps even some kind of federation. The evidence of the Athenian tribute lists fits the view that Sidoussa was a small *polis* dependent on Erythrai, and that Chersonesos was an old name for either Kardia or Agora in the Thracian Chersonesos. The only really

29 See e.g. M. Zahrnt, *Olynth und die Chalkidier* (München 1971) 10: "Hekataios scheint also den Ausdruck πόλις auch für unselbständige Orte gebraucht zu haben."

30 But we cannot be sure see A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia I* (London 1981) 163.

problematical piece of evidence concerns the Attic deme Thorikos, which is called a *polis* by Hekataios. But if I am right in assuming that the fragment should be attributed to the *Genealogiai* instead of to the *Periegesis*, there is no problem. In that case the reference is to Thorikos as one of the *poleis* in Attika before the synoikism under Theseus.

Although the evidence is far from satisfactory, the overall conclusion is that Hekataios used the term *polis* in the same way as all other Greek authors: even though the word in the *Periegesis* was used principally in the sense of town rather than in the sense of city-state it seems in the case of Hellenic *poleis* to have been applied exclusively to communities which were *poleis* in the political sense as well as in the urban sense.

Mogens Herman Hansen
The Copenhagen Polis Centre

A TYPOLOGY OF DEPENDENT *POLEIS*

by

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

One of the main objectives of the Copenhagen Polis Centre has been to dissociate the concept of *polis* from the concepts of independence and *autonomia* and to introduce the concept of the dependent *polis*.¹ This concept, however, is very complex: dependent *poleis* existed in many different shapes and sizes, and certain types of dependent *poleis* were common in some regions but virtually non-existent in others. So far, we have isolated the following fourteen different types of dependent *polis*:²

1. a *polis* situated inside the territory of a larger *polis*, e.g. Mykalessos inside Tanagra (Boiotia).
2. (2a) *polis* in the *peraia* controlled by an island, e.g. the Aktaiai *poleis* controlled by Mytilene, or, conversely, (2b) an island controlled by a mainland *polis*, e.g. Kaudos controlled by Gortyn.
3. an *emporion* organized as a *polis* dependent on a larger *polis*, e.g. the Thasian *emporion* on the coast of Thrace; or on a barbarian overlord, e.g. Naukratis.
4. a colony being a *polis* dependent on its mother-city, e.g. the Korinthian colonies, of which Ambrakia may serve as an example.
5. an Athenian *klerouchy*, e.g. Hephaistia and Myrine on Lemnos.
6. a *perioikic polis* in Lakonia, e.g. Kythera.
7. a *polis* which is a member of a federation, e.g. Orchomenos which regained its *autonomia* in 395 when it broke away from the Boiotian Federation.
8. a *polis* which is a member of a hegemonic league (*symmachia*) which has developed into an "empire" (*arche*), e.g. the *hypekooi poleis* in the Delian League.
9. a *polis* which persists as a *polis* after a *sympoliteia* with another *polis*, e.g. Helisson after its *sympoliteia* with Mantinea.

1 For the concept of the dependent *polis* see M.H. Hansen in *CPCActs* 1 (1993) 18–20; *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) 16; *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 34–9; *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 19–43; 73–8; *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 127–36; Th. Heine Nielsen in *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 63–105; A. Keen in *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 113–25; P. Perlman in *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 233–87. By far the best treatment of dependencies in the ancient Greek world is F. Gschnitzer, *Abhängige Orte im griechischen Altertum* (München 1958). It is important to note that Gschnitzer intentionally avoids to address the question to what extent dependencies were *poleis* (141–53). Instead, Gschnitzer applies two modern criteria: (1) die Abhängigkeit von einem Vorort, (2) das Verfließen des Staatsbegriffs (143ff).

2 For a full documentation of the examples listed here see *infra* pages 31–7.

10. a *polis* which, together with other *poleis*, make up a "tribal state," e.g. the Mainalian *polis* Pallantion in Arkadia.
11. a *polis* which is controlled by an empire/kingdom e.g. the *poleis* in Ionia ruled by the Persian King from ca. 540 to the 470s and again from the King's Peace of 386 to Alexander's conquest of Asia Minor in 334.
12. a *polis* founded as a fortress, e.g. Mesambria, a Samothracian *teichos* on the Thracian coast, or Kasmenai a Syracusan fortress west of Akrai.
13. a major port of an inland *polis*, e.g. Notion the port of Kolophon.
14. a *polis* which is at the same time a civic subdivision of another *polis*, e.g. Koresia on Keos which is a *phyle* of Ioulis, Helisson which is a *kome* of Mantinea, and Dystos which is a *demos* of Eretria

First, there is, of course, a considerable overlap between the different types.

- The Thasian *emporion* (3) were situated in the *peraia* (2) and were thus *poleis* inside the territory of a larger *polis* (1).
- Naukratis was an *emporion* (3) controlled by the Pharaoh (11).
- The Lakonian perioikic communities (6) were all situated in the territory of the Spartan *polis* (1).
- Notion, the port of Kolophon, may have been an *emporion* (3) and was in any case situated inside the territory of Kolophon (1); furthermore, after the King's Peace of 386 both Kolophon and Notion were ruled by the King of Persia (11).
- An *emporion* (3) might be a colony dependent on its mother city (4), e.g. Olbia which kept up close relations with Miletos even in the fourth century B.C.
- In the *sympoliteia* treaty between Helisson and Mantinea (9) it is explicitly stated that Helisson became a part of Mantinea (1).
- Poteidaia was both a Korinthian colony controlled by the mother city (4) and a dependent member of the Delian League (8).
- Kythera was both an island controlled by a mainland *polis* (2b) and a perioikic community (6).
- Helisson became a dependent *polis* in consequence of a *sympoliteia* (9), but was also a *kome* of Mantinea (14).

Second, each type allows of a whole range of relations between larger and smaller *poleis* so that the line between independent and dependent *poleis* is fairly easy to understand in principle, but almost impossible to draw in practice.

- All the information we possess about member states of federations being deprived of their *autonomia* concerns the Boiotian federation and the Chalkidic federation, which were both hegemonic in type and dominated by, respectively, Thebes and Olynthos. The relation between the *poleis* and the federal institutions may have been different in e.g. the Phokian and the Arkadian federations neither of which seems to have been dominated by one of the constituent *poleis*. In these two cases, and in others as well, the member states may have retained their *autonomia* unimpaired.

- Similarly, leagues, and even hegemonic leagues, were in principle alliances between independent *poleis*, and the members were only reduced to dependencies if the *hegemon* succeeded in turning the *symmachia* into an *arche*.
- Some of the perioikic communities were obviously dependent *poleis*, but others seem to have been *komai*, e.g. Oion in Skiritis (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.25–6).

Third, having established the concept of the dependent *polis*, and having disposed of independence as the essential criterion for distinguishing a *polis* from a municipality, we have to address the question: if many *poleis* were dependencies what was then the difference between a *polis* and a civic sub-division, such as a *demos*, a *kome*, a *phratria*, a *phyle* etc.³

Like a *polis* (dependent or independent) a civic subdivision could have its own temples, including a theatre, its own cults and its own festivals. It had its own assembly, in which both laws (*nomoi*) and decrees (*psephismata*) could be passed and taxes and liturgies imposed; there were separate local magistrates and a local court. But, in contradistinction to a *polis* (dependent or independent), a civic subdivision had no *prytaneion*, no *bouleuterion* and no *boule*; its members were citizens of the *polis* of which the subdivision was a part, and were not citizens of the civic subdivision as such; a local assembly had no right to pass citizenship decrees and proxeny decrees; and a local court could impose fines but was not empowered to pass a sentence of death or exile. A civic subdivision did not have its own coins, and it had no right to enter into relations with foreign states. The members of a civic subdivision could form a unit of the army of the *polis*, but would not operate as a separate army.

The evidence for the examples adduced above is as follows:

Re 1. Mykalessos is called a *polis* both in the urban and in the political sense by Thucydides at 7.29–30; the city-ethnic (in its collective and external use) is attested by Thuc. at 7.30.3. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods Mykalessos was located in the territory of Tanagra (Strabo 9.2.11, 14; Paus. 9.19.8), and that seems to have been the case already in the early fifth century B.C. (J.M. Fossey, *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia* [Chicago 1988] 83–4, 222–3; Hansen in *CPCActs* 2 [1995] 36–7). Within the Tanagraian territory, however, Mykalessos had its own territory, called Μυκαλησσός, which seems to have stretched as far as the Euboian Gulf (Paus. 9.19.5, S.C. Bakhuizen, *Salganeus* [1970] 20–1, 148–9). Mykalessos struck coins on the Aiginetan standard from ca. 500 to 480 and from 387 (or earlier) to 374 (or later). (Head [1911] 346; Hansen in *CPCActs* 2 [1995] 93).

3 For the concept of “civic subdivision”, see N.F. Jones, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece* (Philadelphia 1987) 3–11 and *passim*.

Re 2. (a) The Aktaiai *poleis* were a number of *poleis* on the coast of Asia Minor north and east of Lesbos. In the assessment decrees of 425 and 421 the group consisted of: Ἀνταν[δ]ρο[ς], Ῥοίτειον, Νῆσος Πορδοσελένε, ἡ[αμαχ]σιτὸς, Λ[άρι]σα, Ὀ[φρύν]ειον, Ἴ[λιον], Π[έτρα], Θ[ύμβρα], Κ[ολόνε], Π[αλαμέδειον], Α[χίλλε]ιον, plus one or two more (*IG* I³ 71.III. 124–40; 77.IV.14–27). They belonged to Mytilene but passed to Athens after the Mytilenaians' revolt in 428: παρέλαβον δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίσματα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅσων Μυτιληναῖοι ἐκράτουν, καὶ ὑπήκουον ὕστερον Ἀθηναίων (Thuc. 3.50.3). In 424 several of them were re-conquered by Mytilenaiian refugees: οἱ Μυτιληναῖων φυγάδες ... ἐπὶ Ἀντανδρον στρατεύσαντες προδοσίας γενομένης λαμβάνουσι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ διάνοια τὰς τε ἄλλας πόλεις τὰς Ἀκταίας καλουμένας, ἃς πρότερον Μυτιληναίων νεμομένων Ἀθηναῖοι εἶχον, ἐλευθεροῦν, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα τὴν Ἀντανδρον (Thuc. 4.52.3). They are called *poleis* by Thucydides and that they were *poleis* in the political sense can be demonstrated, e.g., in the case of Antandros. The city-ethnic Ἀντάνδριοι is used at Thuc. 8.108.4; from ca. 440 onwards Antandros issued coins inscribed ANTAN (Head *HN*² 541); and in 410 the Antandrians voted to give *politeia* to the Syracusans (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.26). *(b)* The Island of Kaudos situated south of Crete was a dependency of Gortyn and the inhabitants had their status as dependency regulated by a decree issued by Gortyn (*J.Cret* IV 184, 2nd century B.C., i.e. not contemporary evidence).

Re 3. In his description of Xerxes' march through Thrace Herodotos refers to a number of *poleis* belonging to the Thasians: ... Μεσσαμβρίη. ἔχεται δὲ ταύτης Θασίων πόλις Στρώμη (Hdt. 7.108.2). μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς χώρας Θασίων τὰς ἡπειρώτιδας πόλεις παρήιε (Hdt. 7.109.2). The same part of the Thracian coast is described by Thucydides in his account of Thasos' revolt against Athens, and the Thasian possession on the coast are here referred to as being *emporion*: χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ξυνέβη Θασίους αὐτῶν (sc. the Athenians) ἀποστήναι, διενεχθέντας περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας Θράκῃ ἐμπορίων καὶ τοῦ μετάλλου ᾧ ἐνέμοντο (Thuc. 1.100.2), cf. also Dem. 50.47: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφικόμεθα εἰς χωρίον τι ἐν τῇ ἀπαντικρὺ ἡπείρῳ, Θασίων ἐμπόριον, καὶ ἐκβάντες ἡριστοποιούμεθα, προσέρχεται μοι τῶν ναυτῶν Καλλικλῆς ...

In Herodotos Naukratis is described both as a *polis* and as an *emporion*: Φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἀμασις ... τοῖσι ἀπικνευμένοισι εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικῆσαι (2.178.1); ἦν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μούνη Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτου (2.179.1). That Naukratis was a dependency is apparent e.g. from the royal rescript by which Nectanebo I imposed a 10% tax on all gold, silver and manufactured goods in Naukratis (quoted by A.B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II. Introduction* [Leiden 1975] 28). That it was also a *polis* is strongly indicated by the following three observations: (A) Like other Classical Greek authors Herodotos did not use the term *polis* about any urban centre but only about a town which was also the centre of a *polis* in the political sense of the term. Both in Herodotos and in other authors there are so few exceptions to this rule that the presumption is that, in Herodotos' day, Naukratis must have been a *polis* both in the urban and in the political sense of the word (see

Hansen in *CPCActs* 3 [1996] 39–54). (B) Next, in the second book of his work about the sanctuary of Apollon at Gryneion, Hermeias of Methymna (*FGrHist* 558) describes a ritual which took place in the *prytaneion* in Naukratis. Ath. 149D (= *FHG* II 80 fr. 2): παρὰ δὲ Ναυκρατίταις, ὥς φησιν Ἑρμείας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν περὶ τοῦ Γρυνείου Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ δειπνοῦσι γενεθλίοις Ἑστίας Πρυτανίτιδος καὶ Διονυσίοις, ἔτι δὲ τῇ τοῦ Κωμαίου Ἀπόλλωνος πανηγύρει, εἰσιόντες πάντες ἐν στολαῖς λευκαῖς, ἃς μέχρι καὶ νῦν καλοῦσι πρυτανικὰς ἐσθῆτας.... Hermeias wrote his book in the fourth century B.C. and stresses that the ritual was an old one; the implication is that the *prytaneion* in Naukratis must go back at least to the fifth century, possibly even to the Archaic period. (C) Third, the city-ethnic Ναυκρατίτης is attested in a fifth-century Athenian sepulchral inscription (*IG* II² 9984). In Attic sepulchral inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries all ethnics derived from toponyms denoting towns seem to have been city-ethnics, i.e. ethnics used about citizens of a *polis* in the political sense (Hansen in *CPCPapers* 3 [1996] 184–5). Thus, if Naukratis had not been a *polis* it would be strange to find the city-ethnic *Naukratites* attested in contemporary inscriptions.

Re 4. Ambrakia was a Korinthian colony (Thuc. 2.80.3). Like many other Korinthian colonies it retained very close relations with its mother city, and was in fact a Korinthian dependency from its foundation to the end of the Classical period: in the Archaic period Ambrakia was ruled by members of the Kypselid family (Arist. *Pol.* 1304a31–3; 1311a40), its coins had Korinthian types and some were in fact struck in Korinth (Graham, *Colony & Mother City* 121–2); as late as 341 Ambrakia is still described as a Korinthian possession (Dem. 9.34). Thus, Ambrakia was a dependency, but there can be no doubt that it was also a *polis*: it is repeatedly referred to as a *polis* both in urban (e.g. Thuc. 3.113.2, 4, 5) and in the political (e.g. Thuc. 3.113.6) sense of the term. After the expulsion of the tyrants Ambrakia had a democratic constitution (Arist. *Pol.* 1304a31–3), and the Aristotelian collection of constitutions included an *Ambrakioton Politeia* (fr. 481.1, Gigon). Ambrakia is listed as a *polis* providing seven ships to the Greek fleet in 480 (Hdt. 8.42.1, 45.1, 49.1); in 426/5 Ambrakia concluded a peace with Akarnania and Amphilocheian Argos (Thuc. 3.114.3); and in ca. 330 a *theorodokos* was appointed to host the *theoroi* announcing the Heraia at Argos (*SEG* 23 189.I.10)

Re 5. Lemnos was an Athenian klerouchy (Meiggs, *Empire* 424–5) and the two cities on the island, viz. Myrine and Hephaistia, are classified as *poleis* in one of the sub-headings in the Athenian tribute lists: [πόλ]ες αἶδε στρατιᾷ μισθὸν ἐτέλεσαν ... Ἐφαισιεῖς, Ἰμβριοι, Μυρινᾶοι vacat (*IG* I³ 285 col. 1.107–11) – note that the inhabitants are recorded with their own ethnics (cf. Hdt. 6.140.2), not recorded as Athenians living in ... Both cities are called *poleis* by Lykophron who had served two years on Lemnos as *hipparchos*: ἐστεφανώθην ὑπὸ τοῦ δ[ή]μου τοῦ ἐν Ἐφαισι[τί]αι καὶ ἑτέροις ὑ[πὸ] τοῦ ἐν Μυ[ρ]ρίνηι ... ὑμεῖς ... παρακατατιθέμενοι δύο πόλεις τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν (Hyp. 2.18). Finally, in

the King's Peace of 386 the Athenian *klerouchies* are explicitly described as *poleis* exempted from the *autonomia* clause: τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖναι πλὴν Λήμνου καὶ Ἰμβρου καὶ Σκύρου. ταύτας δὲ ὥσπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶναι Ἀθηναίων (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31).

Re 6. Kythera was a perioikic community, ruled by a *kytherodikes* – a Spartan official elected for one year – and controlled by a garrison of hoplites (Thuc. 4.53.2); but like many other perioikic communities it is called a *polis* (Thuc. 4.54.1–2; Ps.-Skylax 46), and the inhabitants are referred to by the name Κυθήριοι which is probably a city-ethnic and thus indicates their status as citizens. Other sources which refer to the Lakonian perioikic communities as being *poleis* are: Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 168; Hdt. 7.234.2; Thuc. 5.54.1; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.21; Ages. 2.24; Lac. 15.3; Ps.-Skylax 46; Isoc. 12.179; Strabo 8.4.11; Paus. 3.2.6; Polemon Περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι πόλεων, p. 50 Preller.

Re 7. Orchomenos was a member of the Second Boiotian Federation (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.3), but in 395 the Orchomenians joined Sparta and defected from the federation (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.6). During the peace negotiations in 392/1 the Boiotians were prepared to renounce their claim to Orchomenos and allow the city to retain the *autonomia* it had obtained by breaking away from the federation: Εἰ τοίνυν ἡμῖν τέ ἐστι τοῦτο παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, τὸ μηκέτι ἀδικεῖσθαι, Βοιωτοῖς τε δέδοκται ποιεῖσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ἀφεῖσιν Ὀρχομενὸν αὐτόνομον, τίνος ἕνεκα πολεμήσωμεν; (Andoc. 3.13). Βοιωτοὶ ... Ὀρχομενὸν ἀφιέντες αὐτόνομον τὴν εἰρήνην ποιοῦνται (Andoc. 3.20). Similarly, the Spartans obviously believed that the members of the Boiotian federation had been deprived of their *autonomia* (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.18; 5.1.36; 6.4.3). The Plataians (and other Boiotian *poleis* as well) believed that they had been deprived of their *autonomia* (Isoc. 14.10 & 17). The Athenian view, as expressed by Andokides (3.13 & 20), Isokrates (14.10 & 17) and Autokles (Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.9), seems to have been that Thebes had deprived the other Boiotian cities of their *autonomia*. And according to Xenophon even the Thebans had to admit that the other Boiotian *poleis* were no longer *autonomoi* (*Hell.* 4.8.15; 5.1.32–6).

Re 8. On *hypekooi* versus *autonomoi poleis* in the Delian League see Thuc. 7.57.3: τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ὑπήκοοι, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ ξυμμαχίας αὐτόνομοι, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι ξυνεστράτευον. καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπηκόων καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῶν Ἐρετριῆς καὶ Χαλκιδῆς καὶ Στυρῆς καὶ Καρύστιοι ἀπ' Εὐβοίας ἦσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ νήσων Κεῖοι καὶ Ἄνδριοι καὶ Τήγιοι, ἐκ δ' Ἰωνίας Μιλήσιοι καὶ Σάμιοι καὶ Χῖοι. τούτων Χῖοι οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ὄντες φόρου, ναῦς δε παρέχοντες αὐτόνομοι ξυνέσποντο. Cf. also Thuc. 1.67.2; 1.139.1, 3; 1.140.3–4; 1.144.2; 3.10.5; 6.84.2–3, see *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 32–4. Being *autonomos*, however, was perfectly compatible with membership of a league as long as the conditions were not imposed unilaterally by the *hegemon*, and as long as the *hegemon* did not interfere in the domestic affairs of its allies, see Thuc. 1.97.1: ἡγούμενοι δὲ αὐτονόμων τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ ἀπὸ κοινῶν ξυνόδων βουλευόντων

τοσάδε ἐπῆλθον ... and the Peace of Nikias quoted by Thuc. at 5.18.5: τὰς δὲ πόλεις φερούσας τὸν φόρον τὸν ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου αὐτονόμους εἶναι.

Re 9. The early fourth-century *sympoliteia* between Helisson and Mantinea includes the following provisions: τὸς [Ἐ]λ[ι]σ[φ]άσιος Μαντινέας ἦναι ἑῷσος καὶ ὁμοῖος ... φέρ[ο]ντας τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν π[ό]λιν ἱμ Μαντιν[έ]αν ... μινόνσας τὰς [πό]λιος τῶν Ἐλισφασίων ὥσπερ ἔχε[ι] ἰν πάντα χρόνον, κῶμα[ν] ἔασαν τὸς Ἐλισφάσιος τῶν Μαντινέων – θεαρὸν ἦναι ἐξ Ἐλίσό[ν]τι κατὰπερ ἐς τοῖς ἄλλαις πόλιν (SEG 37 340.3–9). In this document the term *polis* is used three times about Helisson, twice explicitly and once implicitly. (1) In the phrase φέρ[ο]ντας τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν π[ό]λιν ἱμ Μαντιν[έ]αν the emphasis is on Helisson as an urban centre rather than as a political community, cf. DGE 147.3–7 (= Syll.³ 141); IOSPE I² 401.1–7 (= Syll.³ 360); Syll.³ 647.8–9. (2) In the phrase μινόνσας τὰς [πό]λιος τῶν Ἐλισφασίων ὥσπερ ἔχε[ι] ἰν πάντα χρόνον it is impossible to decide whether the reference is to Helisson as a town or as a political community. But – in accordance with the *lex Hafniensis* – the term *polis* is almost exclusively applied to a town which was also the centre of a *polis* in the political sense. (3) Finally, I believe that Helisson is implicitly described as a *polis* in the clause θεαρὸν ἦναι ἐξ Ἐλίσό[ν]τι κατὰπερ ἐς τοῖς ἄλλαις πόλιν. A possible interpretation of this phrase is, admittedly, that Helisson is granted the right to send a *theoros* like the other communities (which are *poleis*), but this use of the pronoun ἄλλος, though attested (cf. e.g. Pl. *Grg.* 473D), is not often found in Classical prose and the rendering “like the other *poleis*” is much more common and straightforward, from which it follows that Helisson was a *polis* in the sense of political community like the other *poleis* which sent *theoroi*. Next, in Arkadia the *theoroi* were chief magistrates, and to allow Helisson to provide a *theoros* (like the other communities) is in itself an indication that Helisson was still a *polis* in the political sense.

Re 10. In southern Arkadia there were in the classical period four “tribes” viz., the Eutresians, the Kynourians, the Mainalians and the Parrhasians (Nielsen in *CPCPapers* 3 [1996] 100–03 & in *CPCActs* 3 [1996] 132–41). They were political communities on a par with the large *poleis*, such as Tegea, Mantinea and Orchomenos: we hear that the Parrhasians were made *autonomoi* in consequence of a war between Sparta and Mantinea in ca. 423–1 (Thuc. 5.33.3). In 368 when Megalopolis was founded the Parrhasians and the Mainalians provided two *oikistai* each, while the others came from Kleitor, Mantinea and Tegea (Paus. 8.27.2). And of 50 *damiourgoi* listed in an Arkadian federal decree of the 360s three were Mainalians and five were Kynourians (IG V.2 1.16–9, 40–5). Each tribe was composed of a number of communities which are often called *polis* in contemporary sources (e.g. the Mainalian city Eutaia, which is called *polis* by Xenophon at *Hell.* 6.5.12), and that they were *poleis* in the political sense of the term is apparent from, e.g. the case of Pallantion. The Mainalian city of Pallantion (Paus. 8.27.3) had its own coinage (Head *HN*² 451). Pallantion furthermore had its own Delphic *theorodokos* in the late fifth century (REG 62

[1949] 6.1.1), and in 370 Pallantion handed over to the Confederacy some Tegean refugees, presumably without reference to the Mainalian tribe (Diod. 15.59.3). In the late fourth century Pallantion concluded a treaty of friendship with Argos (SEG 11 1084) without reference to the tribe which, however, may well have been no longer in existence (Nielsen in *CPCPapers* 3 [1996] 102–3).

Re 11. In the King's Peace of 386 B.C. it is explicitly stated that all the *poleis* along the west coast of Asia Minor were to lose their *autonomia* and be ruled by the king of Persia: Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλεὺς νομίζει δίκαιον τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι καὶ τῶν νήσων Κλαζομενάς καὶ Κύπρον, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖναι πλὴν Λήμνου καὶ Ἰμβρου καὶ Σκύρου. ταύτας δὲ ὥσπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶναι Ἀθηναίων (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31). Thus, all the *poleis* became dependencies and their status is well illustrated by, e.g., three decrees passed by Mylasa in the period 367–54 (Tod, *GHI* 138). The decrees acknowledge the supremacy of the Persian king, Artaxerxes II, and his satrap, Mausolus: Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλεύοντος, Μανυσώλλου ἐξαιθαπεύοντος (1–2, 17–8, 32–3), but they are decisions made by the people in assembly: ἔδοξε Μυλασεῦσιν ἐκκλησίας κυρίας γενομένης, καὶ ἐπεκύρωσαν αἱ τρεῖς φυλαί (2–4, 19–20), and the community is repeatedly described as ἡ πόλις ἢ Μυλασέων (7, 10, 23, 46). Conversely, when Alexander “liberated” the Asian *poleis* from Persian rule they were considered once again to be *autonomoi*, see the decree passed by the people of Priene in the autumn of 334 B.C.: [ἔδοξεν] τῇ β[ουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ] ... [κυρίῳ] συλλόγου γενομένου, αὐτονόμων [ἐόν]των Πριηνέων, ... (*I. Priene* 2 = Tod, *GHI* 186.1–4).

Re 12. Mesambria was one of the fortresses situated in the Samothracian Peraia west of Doriskos, but not (yet) located: παραμειβετο δὲ πορευόμενος (Xerxes) ἐκ Δορίσκου πρῶτα μὲν τὰ Σαμοθηρῆα τεῖχεα, τῶν ἐσχάτῃ πεπόλισται πρὸς ἐσπέρης πόλις τῇ οὐνομά ἐστι Μεσαμβρία (Hdt. 7.108.2). Kasmenai was a secondary colony founded by Syracuse in 643: Ἀκραι δὲ καὶ Κασμέναι ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων ὤκισθησαν, Ἀκραι μὲν ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεσι μετὰ Συρακούσας, Κασμέναι δ' ἐγγὺς εἴκοσι μετὰ Ἀκρας (Thuc. 6.5.2) and is described by Herodotos as a *polis*: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ εὖρημα τοὺς γαμόρους καλεομένους τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν σφετέρων δούλων, ὁ Γέλων καταγαγὼν τούτους ἐκ Κασμένης πόλιος ἐς τὰς Συρακούσας ἔσχε καὶ ταύτας (Hdt. 7.155.2). For the colony as a frontier fortress see A. Di Vita, “Town Planning in the Greek Colonies of Sicily from the Time of their Foundations to the Punic Wars,” in J.P. Descœudres (ed.), *Greek Colonies and Native Populations* (Oxford 1990) 350.

Re 13. According to Aristotle Notion and Kolophon were two parts of one *polis*, but they are adduced in the fifth book of the *Politics* as an example of how the shape and nature of the territory (*chora*) can make it difficult to keep a *polis* united and result in *stasis* (Arist. *Pol.* 1303b7–10); and other sources show that Notion had developed into a (dependent) *polis*. Notion may have been classified

as a *polis* by Hekataios ([*FGrHist* 1] fr. 233); in the Athenian tribute lists the Notieis never pay together with the Kolophonians but are always recorded separately (*IG* I³ 270.I.8; 272.I.24–5; 280.I.39; 283.III.23; 285.I.95), and the city-ethnic, Νοτιεῖς, is still attested in fourth-century sources (*IG* II² 1.48–9; Arist. *Pol.* 1303b10). According to Thucydides, Notion belonged to Kolophon (Thuc. 3.34.1–4), but it had its own *theorodokos* to host the *theoroi* who announced the Heraia at Argos (*SEG* 23 189.II.7, ca. 330 B.C.), and only towards the end of the fourth century did Notion enter into a *sympoliteia* with Kolophon (L. Robert *Opera Minora* [Amsterdam 1969] 1244–5).

Re 14. Koresia is recorded as a *polis* in a third-century law regulating a festival: ἐστιᾶν δὲ τοὺς τε πολίτας καὶ οὐς ἡ πόλις κέκληκεν ... (*IG* XII 5 647.9), but in a late fourth-century list of citizens from Ioulis ca. 154 Κορήσιοι are listed alongside citizens from six other civic subdivisions (*IG* XII 5 609.IV.175ff), usually taken to be *phylai*, see Ruschenbusch in *ZPE* 48 (1982) 175–88. By the *sympoliteia* between Mantinea and Helisson of the early fourth century, Helisson became a *kome* of Mantinea, but at the same time persisted as a *polis* (*SEG* 37 340, see [9] *supra*). Dystos is one of the Eretrian demes (e.g. *IG* XII 9 240.18, see Knoepfler in *CPCActs* 4 [1997] 000) but in the 24th Book of the *Philippika* Theopompos refers to Dystos as a *polis*: ἀποστήσας δὲ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ περιουκίδι τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ πόλιν Δύστον (fr. 149) One may, of course, reject this piece of evidence as a mistake, but if Theopompos is right in classifying Dystos as a *polis*, it must have been a dependent *polis*, since it is beyond doubt that Dystos in the fourth century B.C. was a civic subdivision of the *polis* Eretria.

Mogens Herman Hansen
The Copenhagen Polis Centre

A SURVEY OF THE MAJOR URBAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE KIMMERIAN BOSPOROS (WITH A DISCUSSION OF THEIR STATUS AS *POLEIS*)*

by

GOCHA R. TSETSKHLADZE

1. Introduction

With its large numbers of Greek cities and settlements and local population, the Kimmerian Bosporos, which covers the territory of the eastern Crimea and the Taman Peninsula on the northern Black Sea littoral, is the most interesting of the Pontic regions (Fig. 1). Thanks to the later and close interaction between Bosporan Greeks and 'barbarian' peoples the Bosporan Kingdom (which was established in ca. 480) is called in the literature a Graeco-barbarian state.¹

* List of abbreviations used to describe Russian publications:

- BS* *Bosporskii Sbornik* = Bosporan Collection (Moscow).
CIRB V.V. Struve (ed.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani* (Moscow/Leningrad 1965).
IOSPE B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* (Petropolis 1885–1916).
KSIA *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii AN SSSR* = Short Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, Academy of Sciences of the USSR (Moscow).
RA *Rossiskaya Arkheologiya* = Russian Archaeology (Moscow); with summaries in English.
SA *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* = Soviet Archaeology (Moscow); with summaries in Western European languages.
SGMII *Soobshcheniya Gosudarstvennogo Muzeya Izobrazitel'nykh Iskusstv Imeni A.S. Pushkina* = Bulletin of the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts (Moscow); with summaries in English.
VDI *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* = Journal of Ancient History (Moscow); with summaries in Western European languages.

¹ Thanks to nearly 200 years of archaeological investigations and study, an enormous literature exists on the Kimmerian Bosporos. Nevertheless, many aspects of the history and archaeology of the region still remain unresolved matters of dispute. I am not able in one article to give a comprehensive bibliography of the literature on the Bosporan *poleis*. I shall cite only recent studies and publications. On the Bosporos, with relatively full bibliographies, see V.F. Gajdukevič, *Das Bosporanische Reich* (Berlin 1971) with bibliography at 538–72; chronological table of Bosporan kings, 573–4 – for the same table see E.J. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (London 1980) 132–3; J. Hind, "The Bosporan Kingdom," in *CAH*² VI (Cambridge 1994) 476–511 with bibliography at 951–63; F.V. Shelov-Kovedyaev, "History of Bosporus in the 6th–4th cc. BC," in *Ancient States in the Territory of the USSR. Materials and Studies. Year 1984* (Moscow 1985) 5–187 (in Russian). Short

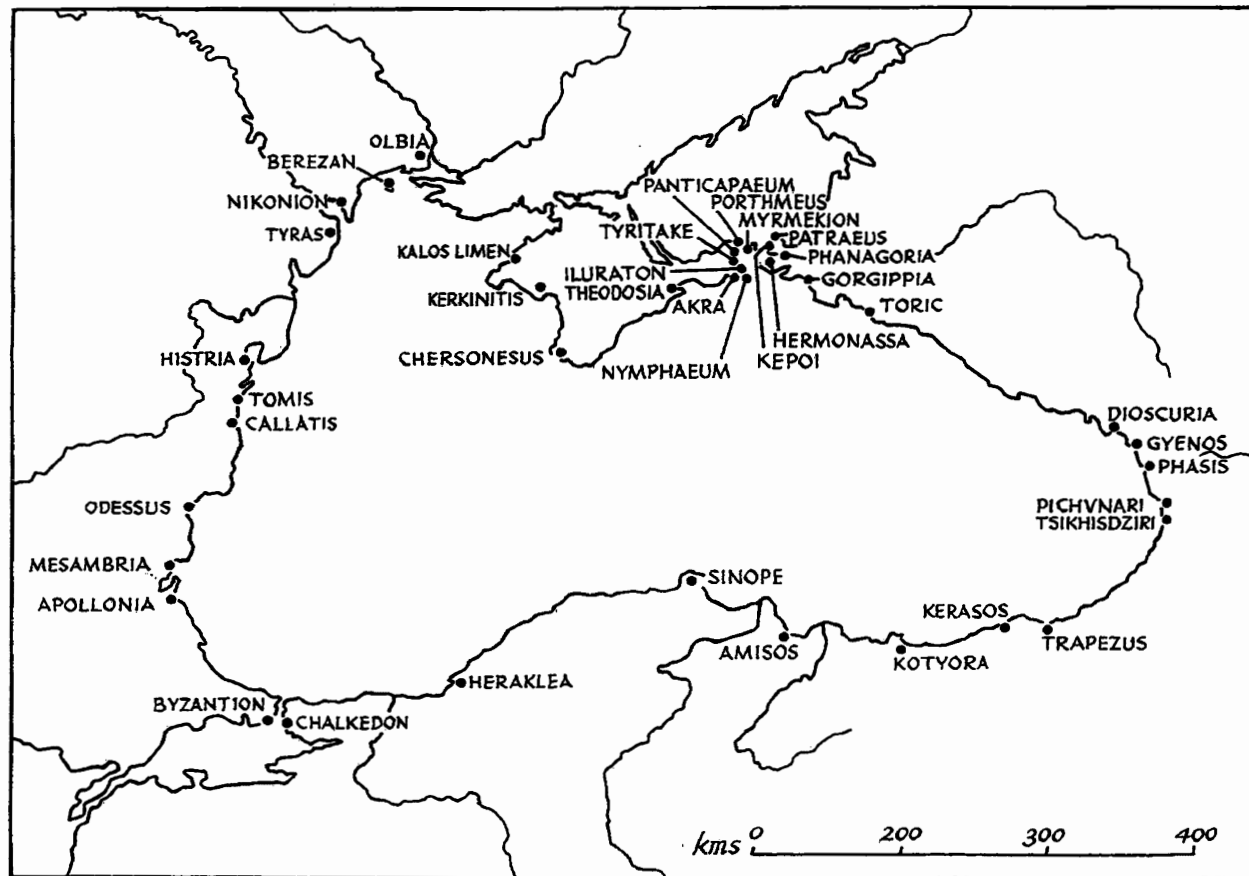


Fig. 1. Map of the Black Sea showing major Greek cities (after Tsetsckhladze [*infra* n. 2] 116).

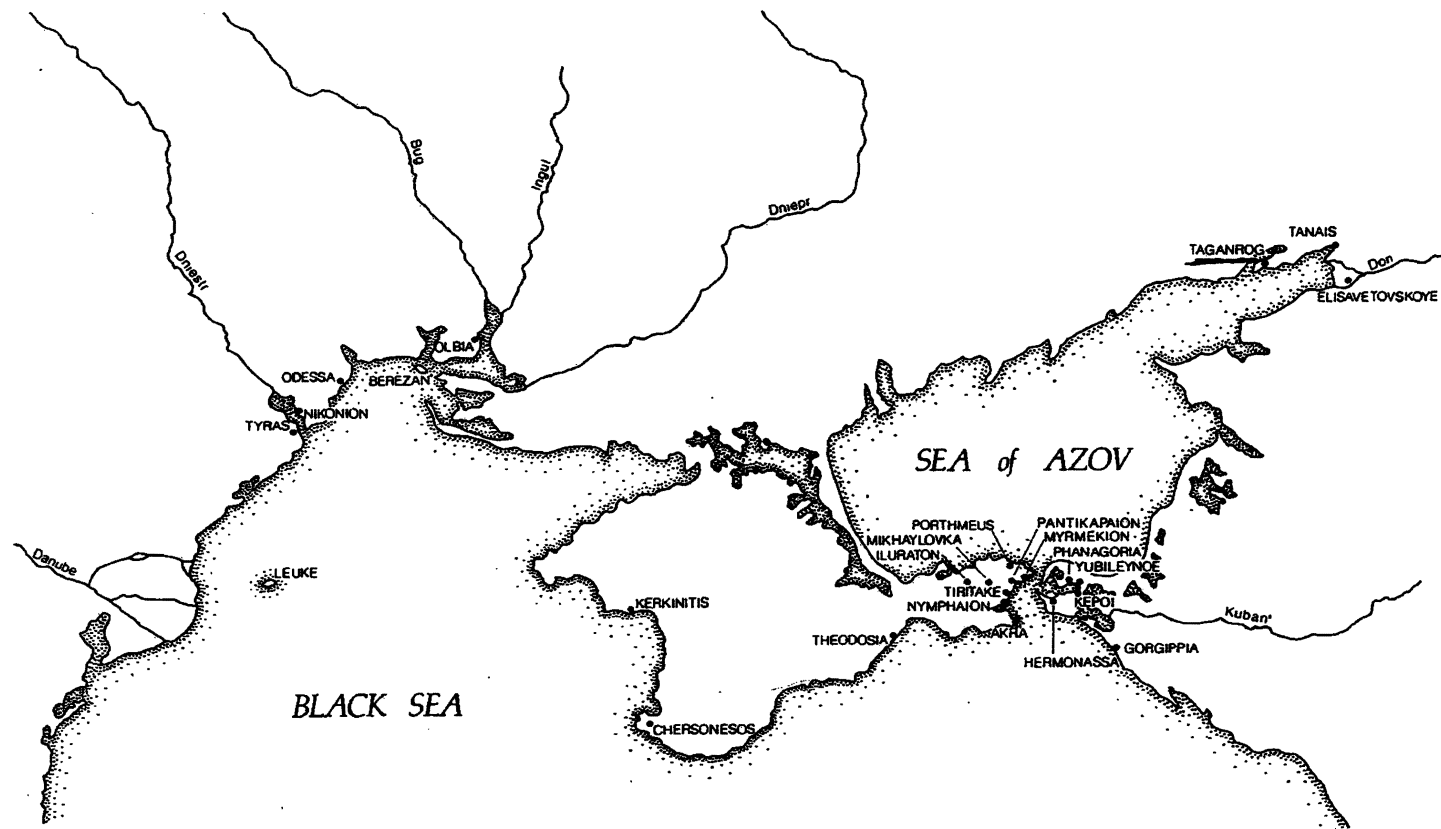


Fig. 2. Map of principal archaeological sites of the Northern Black Sea littoral (after Treister and Vinogradov [*supra* n. 1] 522).

The appearance of Greek colonists in this territory is connected with Ionian colonisation.² The earliest settlement known here is the Taganrog settlement whose earliest Greek pottery dates from the last third of the seventh century to the beginning of the sixth century, which indicates that this settlement on the north-eastern shore of the Sea of Azov was established no later than the end of the seventh-very beginning of the sixth century (Fig. 2).³ Another early settlement probably existed not far from Gorgippia. Alternatively, the settlement later known as Gorgippia was itself established at the same time as the Taganrog settlement. In 1986, at the Alekseevskoe settlement, not far from Gorgippia (modern Anapa), one fragment of a Rhodo-Ionian cup with a bird decoration, dating to the end of the seventh century was found.⁴

information about Bosphoran cities, with an exhaustive bibliography (up to 1988) can be found in D.D. Kacharava & G.T. Kvirkveliya, *Cities and Settlements of the Ancient Black Sea Littoral (A Short Encyclopedic Manual)* (Tbilisi 1991) in Russian.

On the archaeology of the Kimmerian Bosphoros, see Gajdukevič (above); D. B. Selov, "Der nördliche Schwarzmeerraum in der Antike," in H. Heinen (ed.), *Die Geschichte des Altertums im Spiegel der sowjetischen Forschung*, Erträge der Forschung Bd. 146 (Darmstadt 1980) 369–402; G.A. Koshelenko, I.T. Kruglikova & V.S. Dolgorukov (eds.), *Ancient States of the Northern Black Sea Littoral* (Moscow 1984) 58–152 (in Russian); G.A. Koshelenko (ed.), *Essays on the Archaeology and History of the Bosphorus* (Moscow 1992) in Russian; J.Hind in *AR* for 1983/84, 85–91; *AR* for 1992/93, 100–09; M.J. Treister & Y.G. Vinogradov in *AJA* 97 (1993) 544–63; M.Y. Treister in *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 1.1 (1994) 22–39. All dates in the following are BC unless otherwise indicated.

- 2 A.J. Graham in *CAH² III.3* (Cambridge 1982) 122–30; N. Erhardt, *Milet und seine Kolonien* (Frankfurt et al. 1988) 79–125; G. Kochélenko & V. Kouznetzov, "La colonisation grecque du Bosphore cimmérien," in O. Lordkipanidzé & P. Lévêque (eds.), *Le Pont-Euxin vu par les Grecs* (Besançon 1990) 67–84; G.R. Tsetskhladze, "Greek Penetration of the Black Sea," in G.R. Tsetskhladze & F. De Angelis (eds.), *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation* (Oxford 1994) 111–36 (with bibliography).
- 3 This settlement was destroyed by the sea, and the collection of pottery and other finds came from the sea-bed and shore. See V.P. Kopylov & P.A. Larenok, *Taganrog Settlement* (Rostov-on-Don 1994) in Russian; V.P. Kopylov, "Concerning the Mother-City of the Greek Settlement near Taganrog," in S.D. Kryzhitskii (ed.), *Ancient Poleis of the Black Sea Coast and the Native Population* (Sevastopol 1995) 111–15 (in Russian); *idem*, "Taganrog et la première colonisation du littoral nord-est de la mer d'Azov", in O. Lordkipanidzé & P. Lévêque (eds.), *Sur les traces des Argonautes* (Besançon 1996) 327–34; Treister & Vinogradov (*supra* n. 1) 551 Fig. 17.
- 4 Z.Y. Kharaldina & A.M. Novichikhin, "Ancient Collections of the Anapa Museum," *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 3.2/3 (1996) 349–50 Fig. 2. Such cups are known in large quantities from Berezan (L. Kopeikina, "Rhodian-Ionian Seventh-Century BC Ceramics from Berezan Island as a Documentary Source for the Early History of the Settlement," in S. Boriskovskaya [ed.], *Art Objects of Ancient Craftsmen* [Leningrad 1982] 14–21 [in Russian]). One fragment of pottery of course can not serve as the indication of the existence of the settlement but there is nothing of such an early date from any other sites (settlements) around Gorgippia, on the Taman and Kerch peninsulas. The piece might have come there from the Taganrog settlement despite the great distance between the two. The earliest Greek pottery in the Kerch Peninsula was found in the Scythian tomb Temir-Gora, an oinochoe belonging to the Vlasto group and dated to 635–625 (L. Kopeikina, "Painted Rhodian-Ionian Oinochoe from Temir-Gora," *VDI* 1992.1, 147–59; V. Korpusova, "A Rhodian-Ionian Painted Oinochoe from the Tomb near Filatovka Village in the Crimea," *VDI*

The vast majority of colonies were established in the Kimmerian Bosporos in the sixth century.⁵ Written sources give the names of about 30 urban centres in the Bosporos (see below).⁶ What kind of settlements were they? In this paper, by synthesising all kinds of available evidence, it is my intention to discuss the status of Greek cities in the Kimmerian Bosporos and, at the same time, to show the present state of the evidence and the difficulties in interpreting it.⁷

2. Independent poleis

Written sources about *poleis*⁸ in the Kimmerian Bosporos in the Archaic and Classical periods are few. No written evidence is contemporary and most of it is much later (*supra* n. 6 and n. 7). There is information about the establishment of

1980.2, 98–104). This tomb is interpreted as an élite Scythian one belonging to a participant in the regular migration of the Scythian tribes from the Dnieper area to the Kuban region via the Crimea and the Taman Peninsula. The oinochoe is thought to have been acquired by this Scythian nobleman in the Dnieper area and to have come from the Berezan settlement (M.Y. Vakhtina, “‘The Scythian Route’ through the Kuban Region and Some Antiquities of the Crimea in the Archaic Period,” in E.A. Molev [ed.], *Questions on the History and Archaeology of the Bosporus* [Voronezh/Belgorod 1991] 3–9 [in Russian]). If this interpretation is correct it is possible that the piece from Alekseevskoe could have come with the Scythians during one of these migrations (Gorgippia and Alekseevskoe are situated very close to the Kuban region). On the interpretation of the earliest Greek pottery from the sites of the local Pontic population, see G.R. Tsetskhladze, “Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area: Stages, Models, Native Population,” in G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea: Historical Interpretation of Archaeology*. Forthcoming in *Historia Einzelschriften* (Stuttgart), with bibliography.

- 5 To determine the dates of the establishment of the colonies is a difficult and complex problem. The Archaic levels have not been reached in every case and often the dating depends upon a small number of Greek pottery finds. Excavations in the last decade have enabled dates to be established more precisely and have, in many instances, pushed them further back. See V.D. Kuznetsov, “Early *Apoikiai* in the Northern Black Sea Region,” *KSIA* 204 (1991) 31–7, and Tsetskhladze (*supra* n. 2) 117–20.
- 6 V.F. Gaidukevich, *Bosporan Kingdom* (Moscow/Leningrad 1948) 27–8 (in Russian); Gajdukevič (*supra* n. 1) 32–33. These written sources have been discussed in the literature many times. For the latest discussions, see Y.G. Vinogradov, “*Polis* in the Northern Black Sea Littoral,” in E.S. Golubtsova (ed.), *Ancient Greece* Vol. 1 (Moscow 1983) 366–420 (in Russian); G.A. Koshelenko & V.D. Kuznetsov, “Colchis and Bosporus: Two Models of Colonisation?” in G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *New Studies on the Black Sea Littoral*, *Colloquia Pontica* 1 (Oxford 1996) 17–30.
- 7 See also Vinogradov (*supra* n. 6) 368–70; Y.A. Vinogradov, “Towards the Problems of *Poleis* in the Region of the Kimmerian Bosporos,” *Ancient World and Archaeology* 9 (Saratov 1993) 79–96 (in Russian); *idem*, “Some Debatable Problems of Greek Colonisation of the Kimmerian Bosporos,” *VDI* 1995.3, 152–60; *idem*, “On *Poleis* in the Region of the Kimmerian Bosporos,” in Kryzhitskii (*supra* n. 3) 65–9 (in Russian); A.A. Maslennikov, “Some Problems of the Early History of the Bosporan State in the Light of the Latest Archaeological Investigation in the Eastern Crimea,” *Journal of Historical, Philological and Cultural Studies* 3 (Moscow/Magnitogorsk 1996) 61–71 (in Russian); G.A. Koshelenko & V.D. Kuznetsov, “Greek Colonization of the Bosporus,” in Tsetskhladze (ed.) (*supra* n. 4).
- 8 On *poleis*, see W. Schuller, “Die *Polis* als Staat,” *CPCActs* 1 (1993) 106–28; M.H. Hansen,

five Greek colonies only. Sources of a different kind suggest the existence of one further colony, Nymphaion. Other urban centres are also mentioned but only in connection with particular events (see below). Epigraphical sources are of little help, and archaeology provides much more information.⁹

Pantikapaion

This city was the capital of the Bosporan Kingdom. It occupied the summit and slopes of Mount Mithridates and a lower seaside terrace (Fig. 3). It had been established by Milesian colonists on the site of an earlier local settlement, Pantikapa (Strabo 7.4.4; Plin. *HN* 4.26). Strabo called the city "the metropolis of the Bosporians" (7.4.4). Diodorus (20.24.2) described the city but Strabo provides greater detail:

Panticapaeum is a hill inhabited on all sides in a circuit of twenty stadia. To the east it has a harbour, and docks for about thirty ships; and it also has an acropolis. It is a colony of the Milesians. For a long time it was ruled as a monarchy... (7.4.4, trans. by H.L. Jones).

Stephanus of Byzantium's story about the foundation of Pantikapaion is a legend, associated with the myth of the Argonauts. According to him the founder of the city was Medea's brother, son of King Aietes of Colchis (Steph. Byz. s.v.). Another piece of information he provides is that the city was established on land given to these Colchians by a Scythian king named Agaetes.

Written sources do not enable us to establish the foundation date of the city. Archaeological material shows that a colony was established by Milesians/Ionians at the turn of the first and second quarters of the sixth century.¹⁰ The

"*Poleis and City-States, 600–323 BC. A Comprehensive Research Programme*," *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) 9–13; *idem*, "The 'Autonomous City-State'. Ancient Fact or Modern Fiction?" *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 21–44; *idem*, "The *Polis* as an Urban Centre. The Literary and Epigraphical Evidence," *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 9–86. See also the collections of articles O. Murray & S. Price (eds.), *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* (Oxford 1990); J. Rich & A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *City and Country in the Ancient World* (London/New York 1991), J. Davies in Mitchell & Rhodes (eds.) (*infra* n. 46) 24–33.

- 9 On the archaeology of the *polis* in general, see A.M. Snodgrass, "The Rise of the *Polis*. The Archaeological Evidence," *CPCActs* 1 (1993) 30–40; *idem*, "Survey Archaeology and the Rural Landscape of the Greek City," in Murray & Price (eds.) (*supra* n. 8) 113–36; *idem*, "Archaeology and the Study of the Greek City," in Rich & Wallace-Hadrill (eds.) (*supra* n. 8) 1–24; I. Morris, "The Early *Polis* as City and State," in Rich & Wallace-Hadrill (eds.) (*supra* n. 8) 25–58; M. Jameson, "Private Space and the Greek City," in Murray & Price (eds.) (*supra* n. 8) 171–95; S.G. Miller, "Architecture as Evidence for the Identity of the Early *Polis*," *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 201–44; M.H. Hansen & T. Fischer-Hansen, "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*," *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) 23–90.

- 10 Kuznetsov (*supra* n. 5) 33; G.A. Koshelenko & V.D. Kuznetsov, "Greek Colonisation of the Bosporos (in Connection with Certain General Questions concerning Colonisation)," in Koshelenko (ed.) (*supra* n. 1) 18; Koshelenko & Kuznetsov (*supra* n. 7). The following types of Ionian/East Greek pottery are typical of the Greek cities of the Bosporos: oinochoai, amphorae (including those of the Levitsky and Tocra Class, cat. 580) and kraters dating from the late stage of the "Wild Goat" style; cups with rosettes made up of dots, lotus

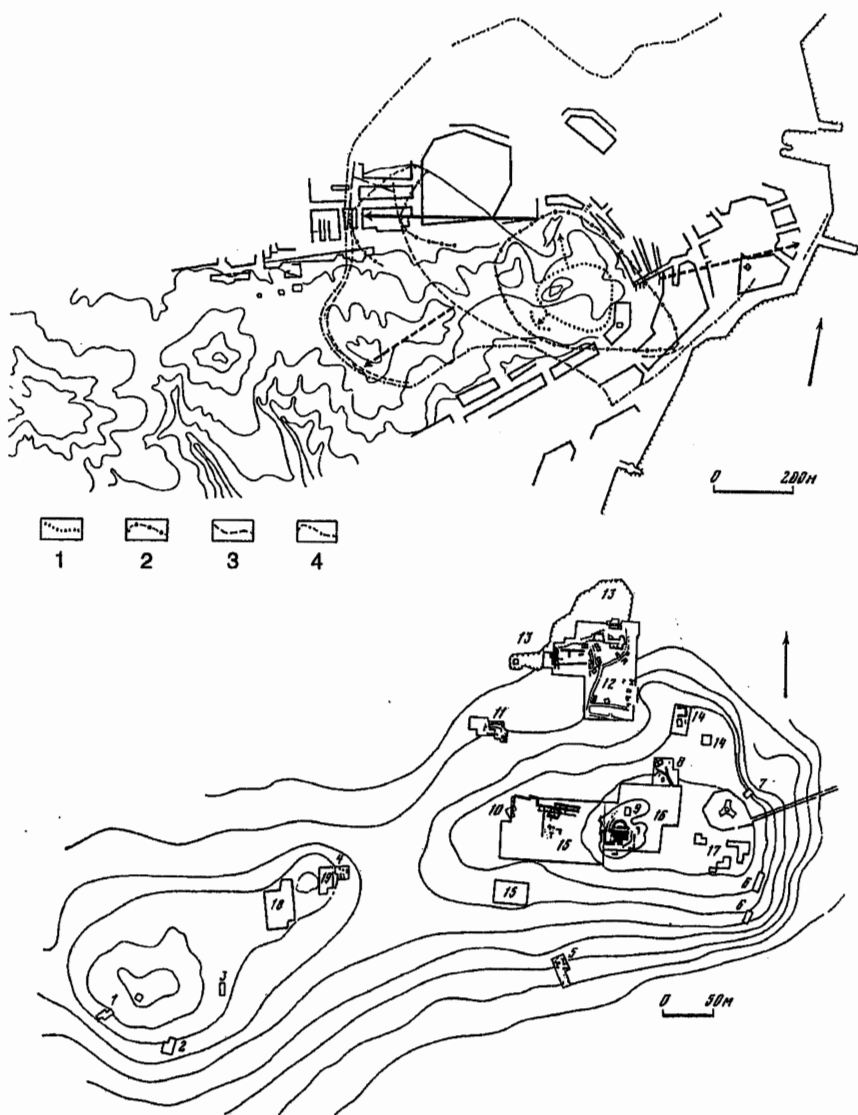


Fig. 3 Plan of Pantikapaion (after Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) [*supra* n. 1] 125).

1. Border of the city in sixth-fifth centuries.

2. Border, fourth century.

3. Border of third century-first half of second century.

4. Border of city in first centuries AD.

Arrows show direction in which city was expanding its territory.

ethnic of the city¹¹ is found as part of a personal name in four cases.¹² The city started to mint its own coins from the middle of the sixth century without interruption.¹³

Epigraphic evidence and dedicatory inscriptions indicate that from about 540 there was a temple on the upper plateau of Mount Mithridates dedicated to Ephesian Artemis.¹⁴ From at least the beginning of the fourth century there were temples, altars and shrines at the akropolis of Pantikapaion dedicated to *Apollon Prostates*,¹⁵ Artemis,¹⁶ Zeus¹⁷ and Demeter.¹⁸

Archaeological excavation¹⁹ has demonstrated that the first Greeks lived in dugouts.²⁰ The beginning of stone architecture dates from the third quarter of the sixth century, and the appearance of streets, monumental buildings and town planning to the last quarter of the sixth century. The building of the *tholos* is dated to this later period. All of this indicates the transformation of Pantikapaion into a typical Greek city. In the last third of the century it is thought that the city's

flowers and a wreath of rays around the foot and rod decorations around the handles; cups with out-turned rims (Types B1, B2, B3); plates on a high stem and with a ring base decorated with plant motifs; Chian cups with a slip facing bearing depictions and other types of tableware, etc. (Koshelenko & Kuznetsov [*supra* n. 7]).

- 11 See M.H. Hansen, "City-Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity," *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 169–96.
- 12 *CIRB* 37 (of the 4th century), 1048 (of the late 1st-early 2nd century AD); B.M. Grakov, "Materials on the History of Scythia in the Greek Inscriptions of the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor," *VDI* 1939.3, nos. 14 (197–175) and 21 (= *Syll.*³ 584 and *IG* XI 4 609), dating to the mid-3rd century.
- 13 D.B. Shelov, *Coinage of the Bosphoros in the 6th-2nd Centuries BC* (Moscow 1956) 14 (in Russian).
- 14 M.Y. Treister, "The Earliest Object of Etruscan Production in the Northern Black Sea Littoral and some Problems of the Early History of Pantikapaion," *KSIA* 197 (1980) 37–44; cf. J. Boardman, "Greek Archaeology on the Shores of the Black Sea," *AR* for 1962/63 30 Fig. 23.
- 15 *CIRB* 6, 10, 25; V.P. Tolstikov, "Pantikapaion – Capital of the Bosphoros," in Koshelenko (ed.) (*supra* n. 1) 95 n. 9.
- 16 *CIRB* 64.
- 17 Tolstikov (*supra* n. 15) 95 n. 11.
- 18 *CIRB* 8. On the temples to Asklepios and Aphrodite in the 2nd century, see Tolstikov (*supra* n. 15) 95 n. 12.
- 19 See Tolstikov (*supra* n. 15) 45–99; *idem*, "Panticapée archaïque à la lumière des dernières fouilles. À propos de l'origine de la ville," in Lordkipanidzé & Lévêque (eds.) (*supra* n. 3) 319–26.
- 20 Dugouts as dwellings for the first colonists are a characteristic feature of all northern Black Sea colonies (Fig. 3a); see S.D. Kryzhitskii, *Architecture of the Ancient States of the North Black Sea Littoral* (Kiev 1993) 40–3 (in Russian). There is a debate in the Russian literature about the ethnic origins of the inhabitants of these dugouts and semi-dugouts. It seems that they must have belonged to the Greeks, who adapted the architecture of the local tribes in response to the cold climate of the northern Pontos, and not to the local population – in the latter case there would have been Greek cities with no Greeks living in them! See V.D. Kuznetsov, "Early Types of Greek Dwelling on the North Black Sea Coast," *BS* 6 (1995) 99–126.

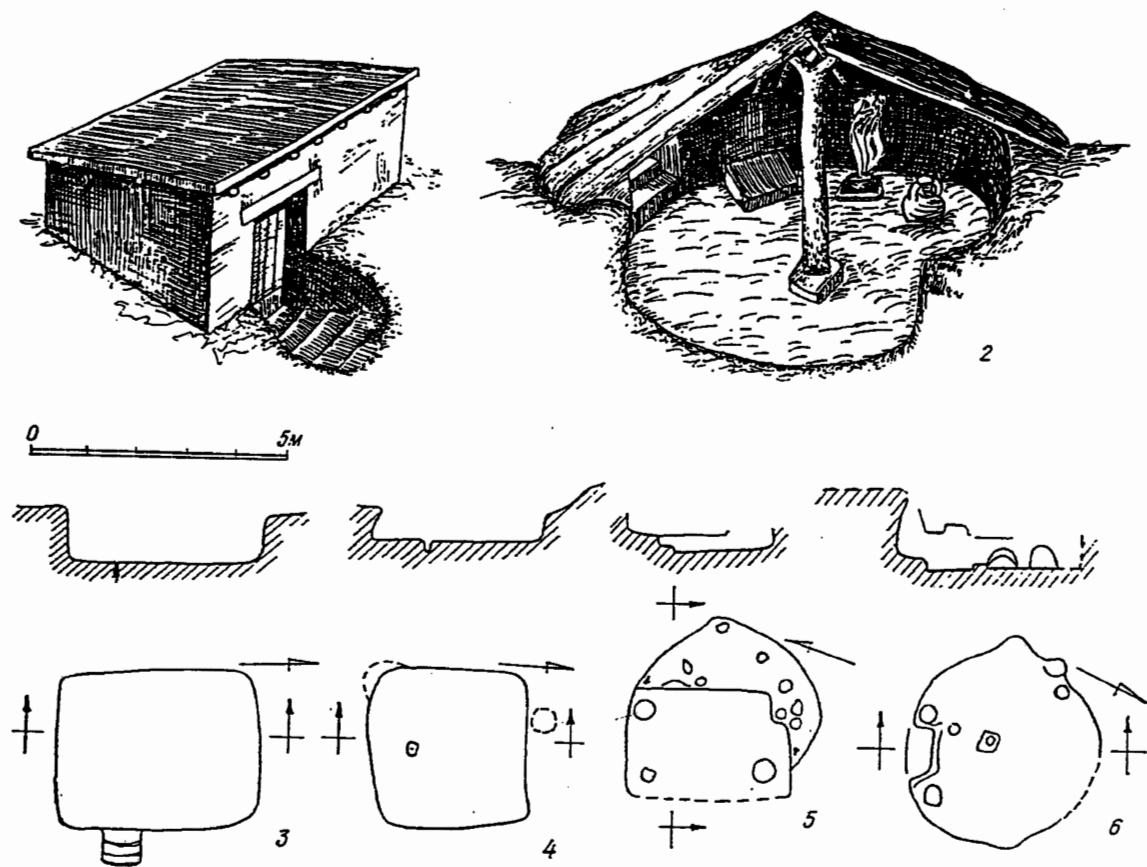


Fig. 3a. Reconstruction (1–2) and plan (3–6) of dugouts from Olbia (after S.D. Kryzhitskii, *Architecture of the Ancient States of the Northern Black Sea Littoral* [Kiev 1993] 44).

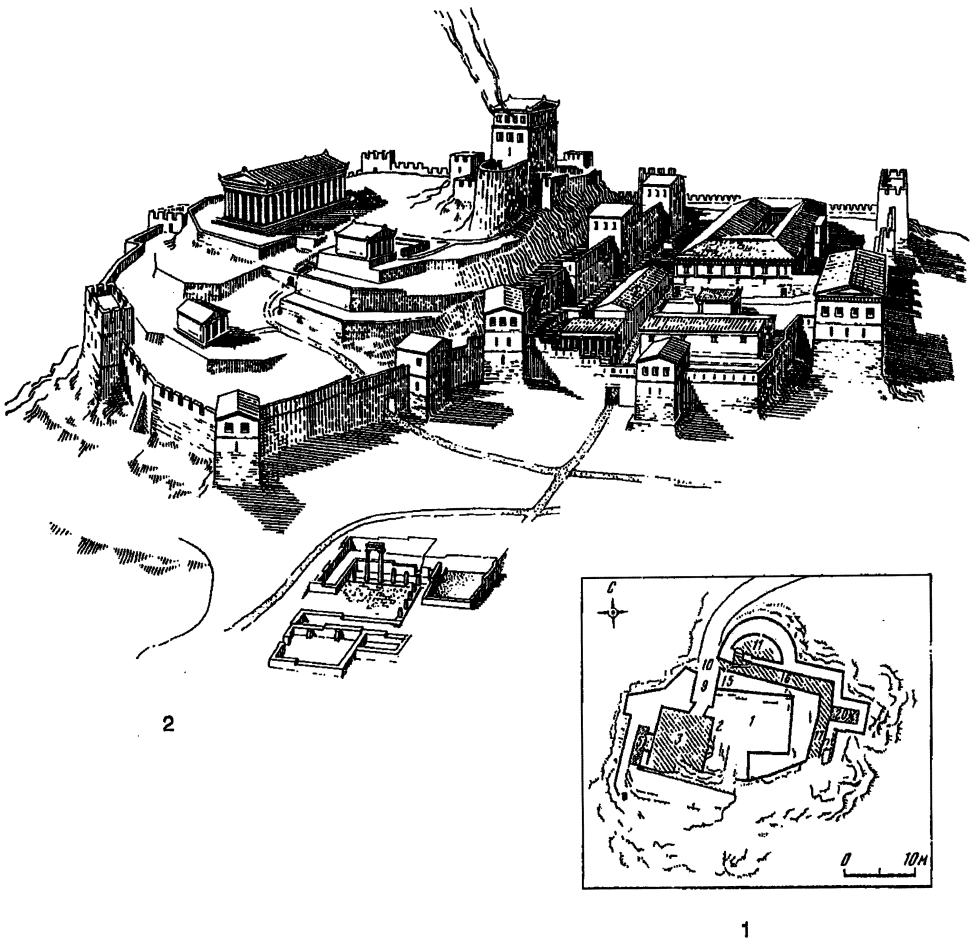


Fig. 4 Plan (1) and reconstruction (2) of the akropolis of Pantikapaion, third century (after Tolstikov [*supra* n. 15] 94).

temenos was formed in the upper plateau of Mount Mithridates.²¹ At the end of the sixth-beginning of the fifth century dugout constructions again appear – connected with the difficult political situation in the Kimmerian Bosphorus (see below). From the middle-second half of the fifth century comes a period in which monumental stone architecture is the sole type of construction. In the middle of the fifth century a huge temple to Apollo was erected in the *temenos/akropolis* of the city. The fourth century was a period of prosperity which saw many grand buildings (some with mosaic floors: so-called “*andron* with pebble mosaic from the late fifth-early fourth century BC”) and temples constructed, and the *akropolis* enlarged: by the end of the fourth-beginning of the third century the royal palace was built there (Fig. 4). Finds of architectural details, sculptures, etc. show that the buildings were richly decorated.²² The city’s first fortification walls date from the first half of the fifth century, and that of the *akropolis* from the fourth century.²³

From the second half of the sixth century, Pantikapaion became a centre for crafts and trade. Workshops for metalworking were found in two parts of the city: on the northern slope of Mount Mithridates, where workshops of the sixth-fifth centuries were situated in three houses grouped along the sides of a narrow street; and on the western plateau, where the earliest dugouts of the first settlers were discovered. Found in the workshops were many moulds, iron ore and slag, the remains of furnaces, etc. Iron, bronze and lead objects (including weapons) were produced.²⁴ The remains of pottery workshops of the end of the sixth-beginning of the fifth century show that the city produced pottery (including painted pottery), clay weights and terracotta figurines.²⁵

Nymphaion

This city was situated 17 km south-west of Pantikapaion, near the village of Geroevka, on the shores of the Black Sea and Lake Churubash. Surviving written sources do not name its mother city. Ps.-Skylax calls it an Hellenic city (68);²⁶ Strabo writes about a city with a good harbour (7.4.4). The ethnic of the city as part of a personal name is recorded in two inscriptions.²⁷

21 Tolstikov (*supra* n. 15) 62–6.

22 *Idem* 78–94; *idem*, “The Shrine in the Acropolis of Pantikapaion,” *VDI* 1987.1, 88–113.

23 Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) (*supra* n. 1) 190; V.P. Tolstikov, “On the System of Fortification of the Akropolis of Pantikapaion,” *SGMII* 7 (1984) 28–56.

24 M.Y. Treister, “Metalworking of Pantikapaion, Kingdom of Bosphorus Capital,” *Bulletin of the Metals Museum* 12 (1987) 38–58; *idem*, “Bronzesmith of the Bosphorus,” *SGMII* 10 (1992) 66–110.

25 I.D. Marchenko, “Local Painted Pottery from Pantikapaion, 6th–5th Centuries BC,” *SA* 1967.2, 146–54.

26 P. Flensted-Jensen & M.H. Hansen, “Pseudo-Skylax’ Use of the Term *Polis*,” *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 137–68.

27 *IOSPE* II, 201 of the 4th century (the inscription has since been lost); Grakov (*supra* n. 12) no. 58 (= *Syll.*³ 1126) dating to about 100.

Archaeological material shows that Nymphaion was founded by Ionians in the second quarter of the sixth century.²⁸ The first colonists lived in dugouts.²⁹ After the middle sixth century stone and mud-brick buildings appear. Soon after the establishment of the city a shrine dedicated to Demeter was constructed. In the middle of the sixth century the city already possessed a *temenos*. The shrine was destroyed by fire at the end of the sixth century. In the fifth-fourth centuries, monumental buildings started to be constructed in the city: an *akropolis*, streets and a new temple to Demeter and Aphrodite. The first city-wall was probably built at the same time as that at Pantikapaion. At the beginning of the fourth century the city was destroyed, but soon rebuilt with a new fortification system and monumental, richly decorated buildings. The discovery of a pottery kiln and winemaking complexes shows the city to have been a craft and agricultural centre in the sixth-fourth centuries. It was minting its own coins from the end of the fifth century.

Theodosia (modern Feodosia)

The city was founded on the southern shore of the Crimea by Milesians (Arr. *Peripl.M.Eux.* 19.3; Ps.-Arr. *Peripl.M.Eux.* 77). It is mentioned by Ps.-Skylax (68). Demosthenes (*Lept.* 33) and Strabo (7.4.4) mention its fine harbour and fertile land, and the export of its grain to Athens. The ethnic of the city is found as part of a personal name only on a grave stele of the fourth century found in Pantikapaion.³⁰

Archaeologically the city is not well known. Its foundation can be dated to about 570–560.³¹ During very small-scale excavation stone and mud-brick buildings dating from the fifth century were uncovered. As in Pantikapaion the walls of the rooms were covered with red-painted plaster. The fortification

28 See *supra* n. 10.

29 Here 17 dugouts were found. They were interpreted as Scythian dwellings and the common view was that the Greek colony was established at the location of a Scythian settlement. But these dwellings probably belonged to the Greeks (see *supra* n. 19). On the archaeological investigations of Nymphaion, see Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) (*supra* n. 1) 63–5 (with bibliography); N.L. Grach, “Nymphaion Archaeological Expedition (Main Results of the Investigations in 1973–1987),” in G.I. Smirnova (ed.), *Results of the Archaeological Expeditions of the State Hermitage* (Leningrad 1989) 61–79 (in Russian). Modern scholars doubt M.M. Khudyak’s interpretation of the “Shrine to Demeter” as a shrine. In their opinion these building remains are those of a potter’s house and workshop (V.D. Kuznetsov’s paper to the conference “Art and Myth in the Colonial World,” Department of Classics, Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, University of London, April 1997. The proceedings of the conference will be published). In the 1996 field season by the expedition of the State Hermitage, St. Petersburg, a monumental, stone Ionic building of the second half of the fifth century was excavated (O.Y. Sokolova, “New Finds from Nymphaion,” in S.K. Sizov [ed.], *Bosporos and the Ancient World* [Nizhnii Novgorod 1997] 143–7 [in Russian]).

30 *CIRB* 231.

31 See *supra* n. 10. Here the main dating material is a fragment of an Attic vase.

system has not yet been found. The city minted its own coins from the end of the fifth to the third century.³²

Phanagoria

Phanagoria was situated on two plateaus, 1 km west of the modern village of Sennoi, on the coast of the Gulf of Taman in the Taman Peninsula. The area of the city-site is 70 ha. On the south, east and west it is surrounded by hills on which three large necropoleis are situated. Beyond the hills there is a group of barrows, and further barrows are arranged in rows (Fig. 5).

For the foundation of Phanagoria we have written sources. According to Ps.-Skymnos (886) it was founded by Teans. Strabo (11.2.10) says:

Sailing into Lake Corocondamitis one comes to Phanagoria, a noteworthy city, and to Kepoi, and to Hermonassa, and to Apatouron, the sanctuary of Aphrodite. Of these, Phanagoria and Kepoi are situated on the island above-mentioned ... Panticapaeum is the metropolis of the European Bosphorians, while Phanagoreium (for the name of the city is also spelt thus) is the metropolis of the Asiatic Bosphorians. Phanagoria is reputed to be the emporion for the commodities that are brought down from the Maeotis and the barbarian country that lies above it, and Panticapaeum for those which are carried up thither from the sea. There is also in Phanagoria a notable temple of Aphrodite Apatouron (trans. by H.L. Jones).

In one of the fragments of his *Bithynian History* Arrian refers to the *oikistes* of Phanagoria as Phanagoros from Teos, who had "sought refuge from Persian influence" ([*FGrHist* 156] fr. 71). This makes it possible to provide a relatively precise date for the founding of Phanagoria: ca. 542. In Dionysios Periegetes (vv. 549ff.) Phanagoria is referred to as an Ionian colony. The use of the city-ethnic as part of a personal name is known in one case (App. *Mith.* 108). If we turn to the archaeological material, there is confirmation of this date from the excavation of the upper plateau, where a small quantity of fragments of Ionian kraters belonging to the late stage of the late "Wild Goat" style, Ionian cups of type B2 and Attic kylikes, dated to the third quarter of the sixth century, have been found.³³

32 On the archaeological study of the city, see Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) (*supra* n. 1) 63. On the *polis* status of Theodosia and Pantikapaion, see Hansen (*infra* n. 73) 90. That the cities were classified as *emporia* does not indicate anything about their political status. It is just an indication of the importance of these two cities in the Athenian-Bosporan relationship as major ports for shipping Bosporan grain to Athens (Tsetschladze 1998 [*infra* n. 110] with the bibliography).

33 On the archaeology of Phanagoria, see M.M. Kobylina, *Phanagoria* (Moscow 1956) in Russian; *eadem*, "Pages of the Early History of Phanagoria," *SA* 1983.2, 51–61; *eadem*, "On Pottery Production of Phanagoria in the 4th Century BC," *KSIA* 124 (1970) 69–72; *eadem*, *Terracotta Figurines of Panticapaeum and Phanagoria* (Moscow 1961) in Russian; *eadem*, *Ancient Sculpture of the Northern Black Sea Littoral* (Moscow 1972) in Russian and French; Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) (*supra* n. 1) 77–81; V.S. Dolgorukov, "Some Questions of the History and Topography and Early Phanagoria," *KSIA* 197 (1990) 30–7; *idem*, "A Bronze Mould from Phanagoria," in G.A. Koshelenko (ed.), *Problems of Ancient Culture* (Moscow 1986) 145–91 (in Russian); Y.V. Gorlov, "Towards the History of Phanagoria in the Fourth Century BC," *ibidem* 135–7; V.S. Dolgorukov & A.B. Kolesnikov, "New Type

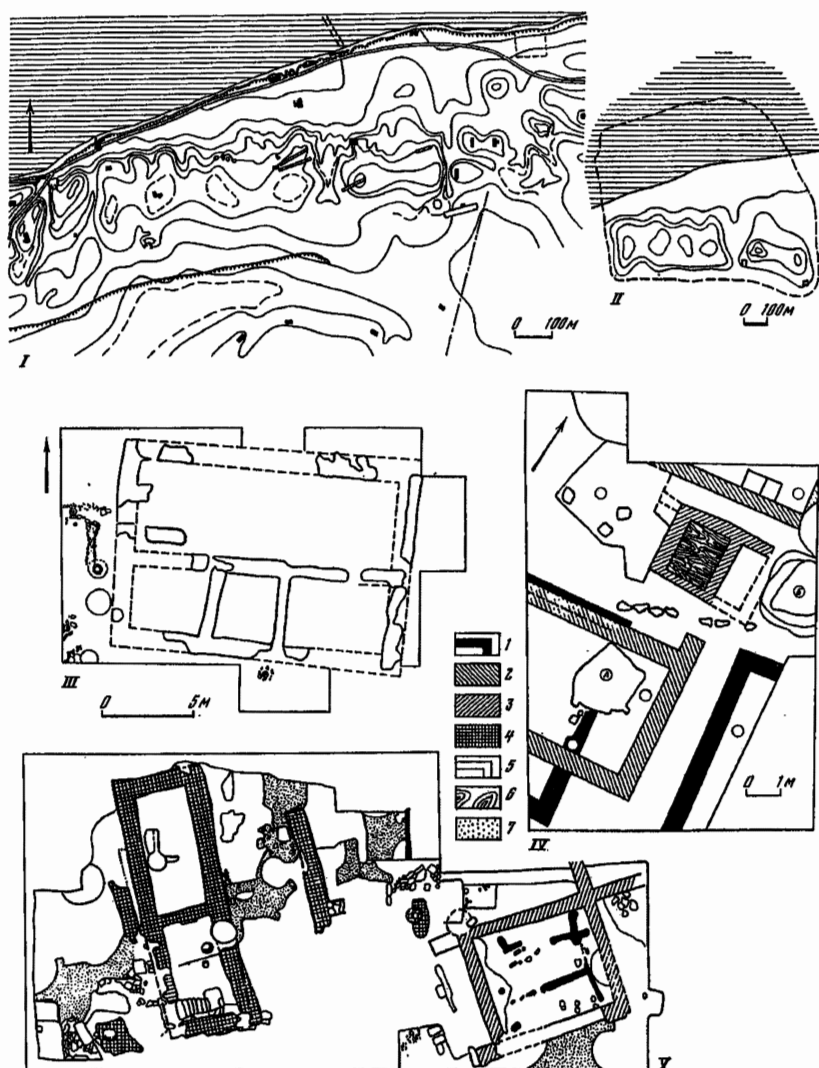


Fig. 5 Plan of Phanagoria (after Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) [*supra* n. 1] 136).

1. Architectural remains, second half of sixth century.
2. Architectural remains, first half of fifth century.
3. Architectural remains, second half of fifth-fourth century.
4. Architectural remains, second-third centuries AD.
5. Architectural remains, fourth century AD.
6. Timber.
7. Path.

A, B – Dugouts of the end of the sixth century.

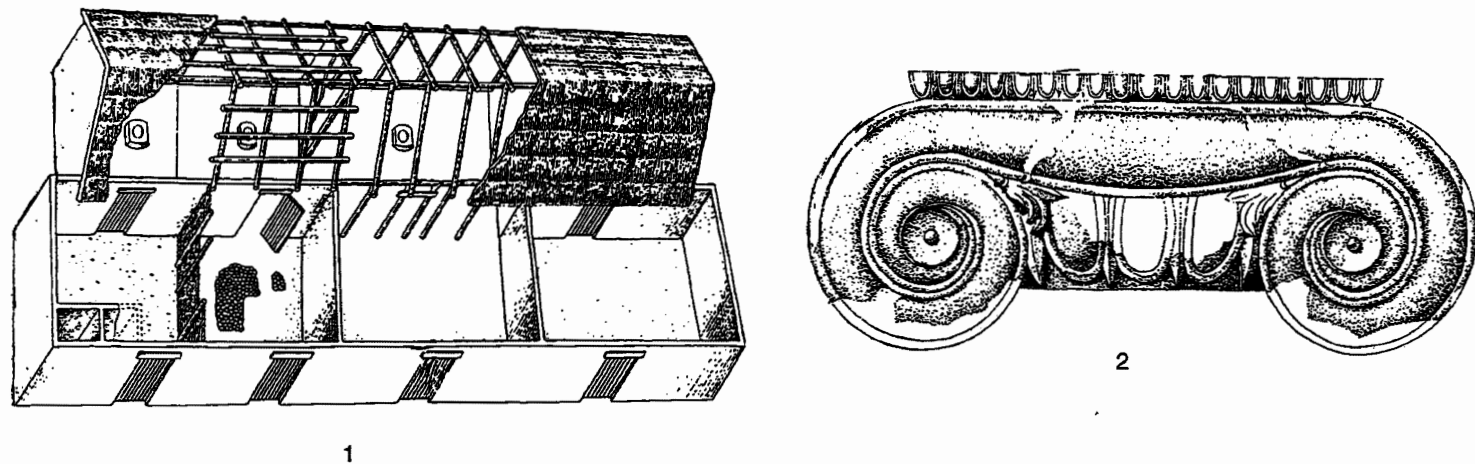


Fig. 6 1. Phanagoria. Isometric drawing of wattle and mud-brick building.
2. Hermonassa. Early fifth century Ionic capital from a temple dedicated to Ephesian Artemis (after Treister and Vinogradov [*supra* n. 1] 557 and 559).

Our knowledge of Archaic Phanagoria is extremely limited. In the sixth century Phanagoria had a rectangular plan of approximately 440–450 x 500 m. Twelve houses built of wattle and mud-brick were found, dating from the 30s and 20s of the sixth century to 500–480. Some scholars have identified dugouts here as well, but others have expressed doubts about the function of these dwellings. The remains of sixth century dwellings include houses built of mud-bricks without any stone foundation. In the 1980s new excavations were undertaken in the “South City”. Residential districts dating from the Hellenistic and Roman periods containing houses made of both stone and mud-brick were found, the streets paved with pottery fragments. The remains of a winery and pottery kiln, dating from the fourth century, were also found. The southern edge of Phanagoria began to be extended at the beginning of the fifth century. In the level immediately above the virgin soil, the poorly preserved remains of some constructions made of wattle covered with clay were found. These date from the beginning of the fifth century. Remains of other buildings were recorded in the cultural level of a later period (approximately from the middle of the fifth century to the beginning of the fourth century, Fig. 6.1). According to the excavators, these structures were temporary dwellings constructed by Ionian settlers who had come to Phanagoria after the Ionian Revolt against the Persians had been crushed. In V.D. Kuznetsov’s opinion – the correct one, in my view – these constructions were the workshops of craftsmen (blacksmiths, potters and bronze casters). In 1983, not far from here, a fifth century workshop for the production of terracottas was found.

At the end of the sixth century houses on the upper plateau were destroyed and the destruction level bears traces of fire. There is an opinion that after the destruction the population lived in dugouts for a short period. The area of each dugout is 4 m². At the beginning of the fifth century there was a large amount of construction work undertaken. The fortification walls were built in the middle of the century. In the south-west part of the city the remains of the city gates were found. The houses were built from mud-brick either erected on stone foundations or directly on the soil. During the fifth century the city spread onto a number of terraces and the area between the upper and lower plateaus was filled up by such buildings. Finds of architectural details, including Doric capitals, show that there were monumental buildings as well. From the end of the fifth century Phanagoria began to mint its own silver coins. In the fourth century the city grew towards the east. The old fortification walls were destroyed in the first half of the fourth century as a result of a siege; afterwards large (re)construction works began, the houses built of limestone and other stones rather than mud-brick. The walls of the houses were stuccoed and often the stucco was painted – usually red.

of Building Complex of Phanagoria,” *RA* 1 (1993) 113–31; Y.M. Paromov, “Archaeological-Topographical Plan of Phanagoria,” *BS* 2 (1993) 111–48; G.R. Tsetskhladze, “The University of London Taman Peninsula Project: Pre-Excavation Essay,” in J. Fossey (ed.), *Recent Archaeological and Historical Work in the North Aegean and Black Sea Areas* (Amsterdam forthcoming); V.D. Kuznetsov, “Archaeological Investigations of Recent Years in the Taman Peninsula,” in G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *New Discoveries and Studies in the Northern Black Sea Littoral* (Oxford forthcoming); *idem* (*supra* n. 20); *idem* (*supra* n. 10).

The city had several shrines and temples. At the end of the sixth century there was a wooden shrine which was destroyed by fire at the beginning of the fifth century. Not far from the city another shrine was built where terracotta figurines of Demeter, Artemis and Aphrodite were found. According to inscriptions found in Phanagoria, in the city's agora or nearby, there were temples to Apollo and Heracles. A sanctuary of Aphrodite Urania (*Apatouron*) was located on a hill not far from the city.

From the outset, Phanagoria was a very important city with its own diversified economy and craft production. Pottery kilns were found, the earliest dating from the fourth century. The produce of these kilns included pottery (local painted pottery dates from the sixth-fifth centuries), tiles, terracotta figurines, small measuring vessels with stamps, relief bowls, etc. In the literature this part of the city is called "Kerameikos". There were workshops for the production of architectural terracottas, bronze and iron objects, and lifesize bronze statues. Study of fragments of stone sculptures and gravestones confirms the existence of local sculptors. Finds of imported tableware, amphorae and foreign coins show that Phanagoria was a trading centre.

Hermonassa

The city was situated at the location of the modern town of Taman in the Taman Peninsula, not far from Phanagoria. In the written sources the origin of the colonists is confused. Arrian provides the following interpretation of the origin of the city's name (*Bithynika* fr. 55 Roos = [*FGrHist* 156] fr. 71):

Hermonassa acquired its name from Hermonassa, the wife of a certain Semander from Mytilene. After he had led some Aeolians to that colony and died while it was being settled, his wife assumed power in the city and lent it her name.

Stephanus of Byzantium comes up with another version (s.v.). He mentions a *polis* in the Kimmerian Bosphorus that had been an Ionian foundation, referring at the same time to Dionysios and Ps.-Skymnos. Furthermore, Eustathios (*Comm.* 549, *GGM* II 324) informs us that the *oikistes* of Hermonassa was a certain Hermon and that Hermonassa had been colonised by Ionians. Some scholars have attempted to resolve the contradiction found in the written sources as follows: Arrian's mention of Aeolians should be explained by the fact that certain Aeolians, in particular inhabitants of Mytilene, had also been involved in the founding of Hermonassa side by side with the Ionians. One name in an Archaic graffito is of Aeolian origin (or influence), but in the fourth century, the population of the city was, according to an inscription (*CIRB* 1056), mainly Ionian.³⁴ Hermonassa was called *polis* by Hekataios ([*FGrHist* 1] fr. 208), but the city-ethnic as part of a personal name is found only once.³⁵

34 See Vinogradov (*supra* n. 6) 369 n. 20.

35 *CIRB* 495 (1st century AD). For Hekataios' reference to Hermonassa, see M.H. Hansen, "Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis* in His *Periegesis*," (in this volume) 23.

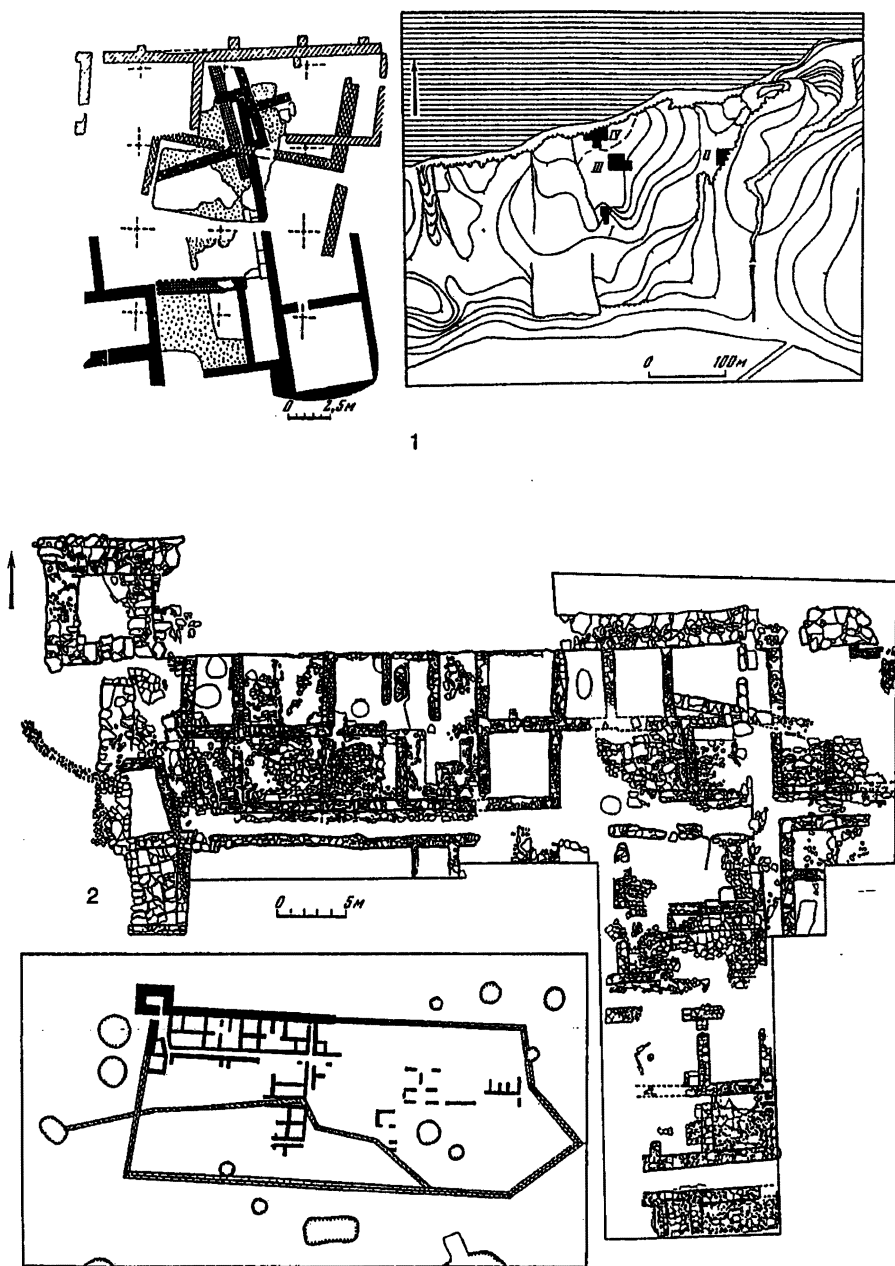


Fig. 7 1. Plan of Hermonassa (after Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) [*supra* n. 1] 138).
2. Plan of Porthmeus (after Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) [*supra* n. 1] 131).

Archaeologically, the foundation of Hermonassa dates to about 580–570.³⁶ The Archaic and Classical levels have not been studied extensively because the levels of the city are 12 m deep and the Greek and Roman levels are between 6 and 7 m deep: the rest are Byzantine-Mediaeval (Fig. 7.1).³⁷

Some Archaic pits were discovered, and the remains of Classical stone and mud-brick buildings. The most interesting material contains dedicatory inscriptions to the Ephesian Artemis (a temple probably existed here, Fig. 6.2), *Apollon Prostates*,³⁸ and *Apollon Delphinios*.³⁹ Other inscriptions date to the Hellenistic-Roman periods. Inscriptions of the second century AD mention the reconstruction of the temple to Aphrodite⁴⁰ and the fortification system.⁴¹ Probably the temple and the walls existed in the Classical period. So far, no coins of Hermonassa are known.

Kepoi (?)

This city is situated 3 km north-east of Phanagoria. The site occupies about 20 ha. The identification of this site with Kepoi still has to be proved. According to Ps.-Skymnos (899) and Pliny (*HN* 6. 18) it was founded by Milesians. The epigraphical sources support this interpretation.⁴² The city-ethnic as part of a personal name is found only once.⁴³

Several hundred fragments of pottery date the foundation of Kepoi to about 580–570.⁴⁴ The Archaic and Classical levels were destroyed in antiquity. What survives are Archaic pits and remains of stone and mud-brick dwellings of the end of the sixth-beginning of the fifth century (Fig. 8.1). Some fragments of marble sculpture were also found.⁴⁵ No fortification system or local coinage is known.

36 Kuznetsov (*supra* n. 5) 34.

37 On the archaeological investigation of Hermonassa, see Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) (*supra* n. 1) 81–2; Treister & Vinogradov (*supra* n. 1) 558; A.K. Korovina, "History of the Study of the Taman City-Site," *SGMII* 10 (1992) 7–40.

38 *CIRB* 1034, 1044.

39 *CIRB* 1038.

40 *CIRB* 1054.

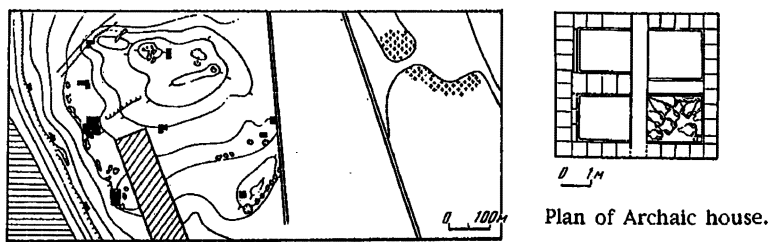
41 *CIRB* 1052.

42 Vinogradov (*supra* n. 6) 370 (in Russian).

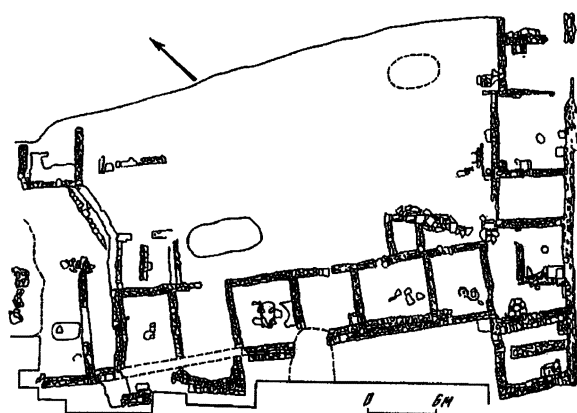
43 *CIRB* 188 of the mid-4th century.

44 The pottery was found in Archaic pits: Attic and Corinthian vases, East Greek pottery in the "Wild Goat" Style, dishes and bowls of the Levitsky Class with rosettes and lotus leaves, Ionian cups of types B1, A2–B2 and B3. The Attic pottery consists mostly of Little Master cups; Komast cups; Siana cups; a lekane lid of the Polos Painter; a Tyrrhenian amphora; white-slipped cups; Corinthian skyphoi; amphorae, etc. See V.D. Kuznetsov, "Kepoi: Ionian Pottery," *SA* 1991.4, 36–52; *idem*, "Excavation in Kepoi, 1984–1989," in Koshelenko (ed.) (*supra* n. 1) 28–45; Treister & Vinogradov (*supra* n. 1) 555–6.

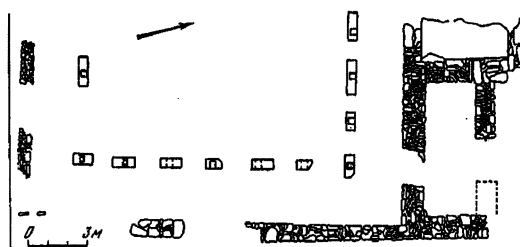
45 See *supra* n. 44 and Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) (*supra* n. 1) 84–5.



1



2



3

Fig. 8 1. Plan of Kepoi (after Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) [*supra* n. 1] 142).
 2. Plan of building excavated in Torikos (after Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) [*supra* n. 1] 150).
 3. Plan of building in the Raevskoe city-site (after Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) [*supra* n. 1] 149).

Some Conclusions

The evidence presented above demonstrates that four *poleis* established by Milesian colonists existed in the Kimmerian Bosphorus in the Archaic period and another by Ionians from Teos, and a sixth in all probability by Aeolians from Mytilene. In the beginning they were no more than small settlements – not yet *poleis* but just *apoikiai*.⁴⁶ The Ionians successfully adapted to the local physical conditions of the Black Sea, where the climate was wetter and colder than that of Greece and the Aegean. Archaeological excavation (*supra* n. 20) shows that the first colonists in the northern Black Sea lived in simple dugouts and semi-dugouts with pitched and flat roofs; the exception to this is the Taman Peninsula. In Olbia, for example, a whole quarter was found in which dwellings of this sort lined both sides of the main street. Only some 10–20 years later in Olbia, and in the Bosphorus 50–75 years later, did the colonists start building stone dwellings. It seems, indeed, that these dugouts must be dwelling houses of a type copied from the local population. Many such dwellings have been found in the settlements of the locals, and this style of construction was a simple, practical response to the cold, which was common in this region. Many other pits used for storage and the disposal of rubbish have been found, but these are much smaller and have a different shape. No dwellings of any other type have been found on sites dating from the period of the first colonists, and investigations of the last 5–7 years have yielded dwelling-pits in every Greek settlement in the region. In the Taman Peninsula, where building stone was absent, Greeks used to inhabit wattle and mud-brick houses – a type of dwelling known to them and to modern scholarship from the local Maeotian settlements (in the Kuban region, not far from the Taman Peninsula).⁴⁷

Only from the middle of the sixth century do the settlements become *poleis* with the associated features of regular planning, *temenos*, *agora*, craft activity and social structure.⁴⁸ In the Archaic period only Pantikapaion minted coins. Some other cities started to do so towards the end of fifth century. No fortification system is known until the first half of the fifth century. This can be explained by

46 Cf. J.P. Wilson, "The Nature of Greek Overseas Settlements in the Archaic Period: *Emporion* or *Apoikia*?" in L.G. Mitchell & P.J. Rhodes (eds.), *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece* (London/New York 1997) 199–207. For my position on this subject, see Tsatskheladze (*supra* n. 4).

47 See *supra* n. 20; Y.A. Vinogradov 1995 (*supra* n. 7); G.R. Tsatskheladze, "The Ionians Abroad," in A.M. Snodgrass and G.R. Tsatskheladze (eds.), *Greek Settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea* (Oxford forthcoming).

48 It is possible that these settlements developed their own craft production and social structure soon after their establishment. So far we have no evidence. Only Olbia provides well-preserved early temple architecture, dating from the end of the sixth century. See A.V. Byiskikh, "On Cult Architecture of the Ancient Cities of the Northern Black Sea Littoral of the 6th–5th Centuries," *Khersonesskii Sbornik* (Chersonesian Collection) 8 (1997) 23–29 (in Russian). Very important evidence about social structure and trade in the Archaic period is contained in private lead letters recently studied by Y.G. Vinogradov: "The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Region in the Gleam of Private Lead Letters," in Tsatskheladze (ed.) (*supra* n. 4).

the peaceful relations existing between Greeks and the local population (see below).

There is no evidence concerning the political institutions of the *poleis* in the Kimmerian Bosporos in the Archaic period. According to S.A. Zhebelev the same institutions existed as in the mother-city, Miletos.⁴⁹ He thought that Pantikapaion and Theodosia had an *archon* but Vinogradov has demonstrated that neither Miletos nor its Black Sea colonies possessed such an institution in the Archaic period.⁵⁰ Thus, the question of the political institutions of the Bosporan *poleis* in the Archaic period remains open.

3. *Dependent poleis and other urban centres*

Written sources mention about 20 other urban centres in the Kimmerian Bosporos, but give no information about their status and seldom state by whom they were established. All such evidence is of a much later date: contemporary written sources are absent. Archaeology provides the sole source of data for the Archaic period as also for the Classical. In the literature there have long been discussions about the character and status of these urban centres. Many of them are not even located archaeologically. Usually some of them are called the "small cities or towns of the Bosporos".⁵¹

The Copenhagen Polis Centre has introduced the concept of the "dependent polis" and fourteen different types of dependent *polis* are listed and discussed by Hansen in this volume pages 29–37.⁵² Can some of the urban centres of the Bosporos be considered dependent *poleis*? I think the answer must be positive, although archaeology, in the almost complete absence of other kinds of evidence, cannot provide answers to many of the questions and problems that have arisen.

Myrmekion

This city was situated 4 km east of Pantikapaion. It is mentioned many times (Ps.-Skylax 68; Strabo 7.4.5; 11.2.6; Ptol. *Geog.* 3.6.3; Ael. Herod. 373.20; Ps.-Arr. *Peripl.M.Eux.* 76; Pompon. Mela 2.3; Plin. *HN* 4.87; Steph. Byz. s.v.), but without details of a mother-city or any other information which would enable us

49 S.A. Zhebelev, *North Black Sea Littoral* (Moscow/Leningrad 1953) 72–3 (in Russian).

50 Vinogradov (*supra* n. 6) 410–15. In other colonies of the Black Sea region – Olbia, Histria and Tyras – there is evidence that the political institutions were exactly the same as in Miletos (*ibidem*). Cf. E.B. Petrova, "Theodosia in the Bosporan Kingdom (the Political Aspect)," in A.I. Aibabin (ed.), *Materials on the Archaeology, History and Ethnography of Taurice* Vol. 2 (Simferopol 1991) 97–9 (in Russian) etc.

51 For the latest discussion see the literature cited *supra* n. 7.

52 For the concept of the dependent *polis* see also M.H. Hansen, "Boiotian *Poleis*. A Test Case," *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 18–20, and T.H. Nielsen, "A Survey of Dependent *Poleis* in Classical Arkadia," *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 63–105.

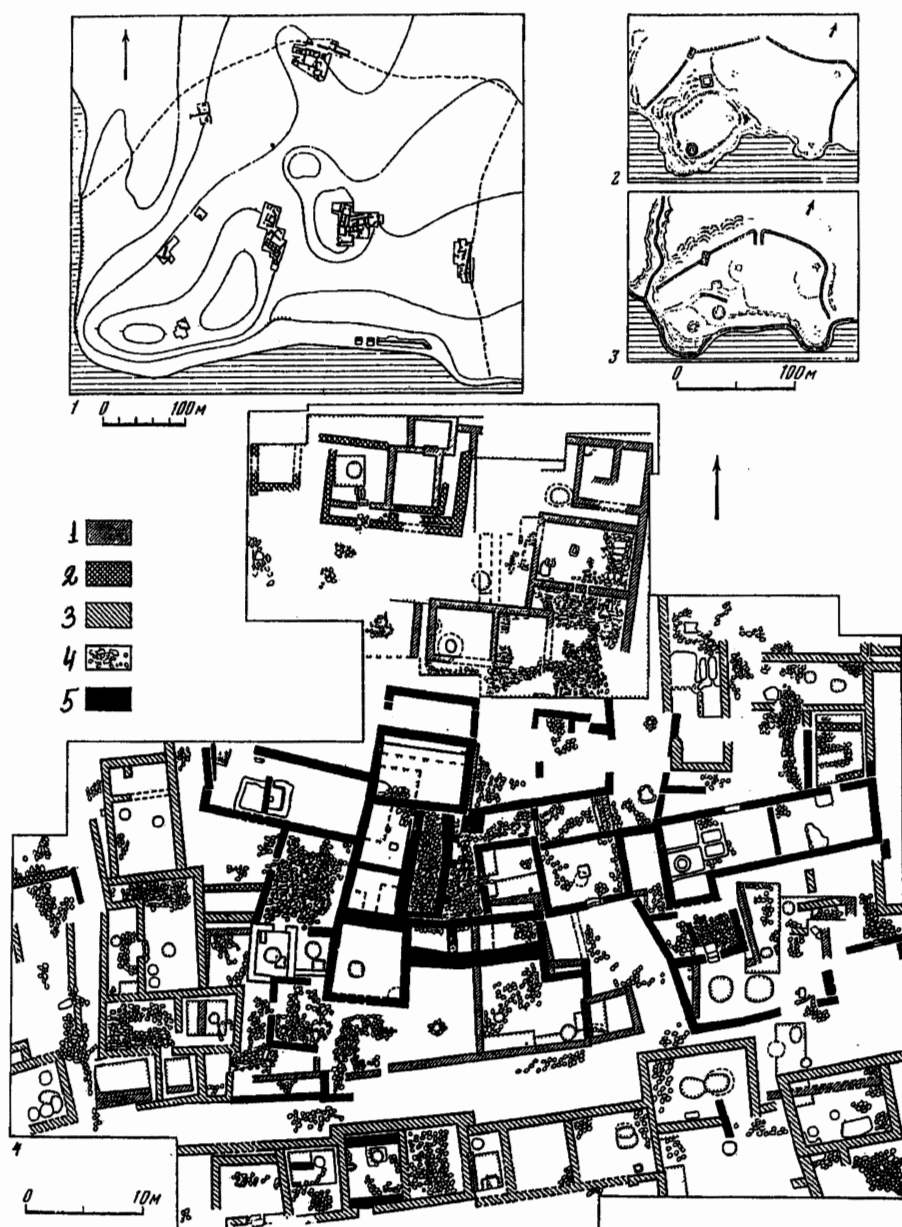


Fig. 9 Plan of Myrmekion (after Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) [*supra* n. 1] 128).

- 1. sixth-fifth centuries.
- 2. fourth century.
- 3. first-third centuries AD
- 4. Stone-paved.
- 5. third-first centuries.

to consider it a *polis*,⁵³ and there is no attestation of the ethnic of the city used as a part of a personal name.⁵⁴ Previously, it had been thought that coins with the impression of an ant were minted by Myrmekion but their minting is now connected with Pantikapaion.⁵⁵

Excavation shows that the area of the city was 6 ha (Fig. 9), and that it was established between 580 and 560.⁵⁶ The first inhabitants lived in dugouts. Recently, traces of fire, dated to the middle of the sixth century, and of some kind of fortification (?) of the second half of that century were found. (The interpretation of these remains as a fortification system of the *akropolis* [?] needs further consideration.) Stone architecture dates from the second half of the sixth century. From the fifth century the city had rectangular planning and temples. City walls were erected at the beginning of the fourth century.

Tyritake

The city is located 11 km west of Pantikapaion (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.6.3; Ps.-Arr. *Peripl.M.Eux.* 76; Steph. Byz. s.v.). It was established at the same time as Myrmekion.⁵⁷ Stone buildings appear in the second half of the sixth century; fortifications in the fifth (Fig. 10). The city did not have its own coinage.

Porthmeus

The site lies at a strategic point (*teichos*? see below) on the north-western coast of the Kerch Strait, from which the city controlled the crossing of the strait (Ael. Herod. 360.17; Ps.-Arr. *Peripl.M.Eux.* 69, 76; Steph. Byz. s.v.). Probably, it was established in the middle of the sixth century (Fig. 7.2). Recent excavation has uncovered traces of fire and a fortification system (?) dated to the end of the sixth century.⁵⁸ Stone and mud-brick buildings date from the end of the sixth-fifth centuries. The area of the town was 0.65 ha. Archaeologically, it has been little studied.⁵⁹

53 The same applies to all urban centres mentioned in this section.

54 See *supra* n. 53.

55 Shelov (*supra* n. 13) 29; Gajdukevič (*supra* n. 1) 179; V.A. Anokhin, *Coinage of the Bosphorus* (Kiev 1986) 10 (in Russian). On the numismatics of the Bosphoran Kingdom from the latest investigations, see N.A. Frolova, "Coinage of the Bosphorus, 6th century BC-middle 4th century AD in the Light of New Studies," in Koshelenko (ed.) (*supra* n. 1) 187–246; *eadem*, "Coinage of the Bosphorus of the Middle 6th–5th Century BC," *RA* 2 (1996) 34–69.

56 On the archaeological investigation of this city, see Y.A. Vinogradov 1993 and 1995 (*supra* n. 7); *idem*, "Early Complexes of Myrmekion," in Molev (ed.) (*supra* n. 4) 12–19; *idem*, "Myrmekion," in Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) (*supra* n. 1) 65–7; V.F. Gaidukevich, *Ancient Cities of the Bosphorus: Myrmekion* (Leningrad 1987) in Russian.

57 Kuznetsov (*supra* n. 5) 33. On the archaeological investigation, see Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) (*supra* n. 1) 67–9.

58 Y.A. Vinogradov 1995 (*supra* n. 7) 157 n. 35.

59 Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) (*supra* n. 1) 69–70.

Kytai

The town is located 38 km south-west of Pantikapaion. The surviving part measures 4.5 ha. It is mentioned several times in the written sources (Ps.-Skylax 68; Ps.-Arr. *Peripl.M.Eux.* 76; Schol. in Ap. Rhod. 399; Plin. *HN* 4.86; Ptol. *Geog.* 3. 6. 5; Steph. Byz. s.v.). It was established in the fifth century. Archaeological excavation has revealed stone buildings and a fortification system of the fourth century.⁶⁰

Akra

The name is mentioned several times by ancient authors (Ps.-Arr. 76; Plin. *HN* 4.86). Strabo (11.2.8) calls it a *kome*,⁶¹ and modern scholars either a city or town.⁶² The settlement has been identified with Cape Takiel, 4 km east of Kytai but an archaeological survey in Cape Takiel yielded nothing except pottery.⁶³ The identification cannot be accepted without further investigation.

Kimmerikon

This place is mentioned by Ps.-Arrian (76) and Strabo (11.2.5), who says that it was a *polis* in "earlier times". The city is identified with a site 50 km south of Pantikapaion. Archaeological excavation has yielded pottery of the fifth century. Stone buildings and a fortification system date from the third century (Fig. 11).⁶⁴

Patraeus (?)

Hekataios of Miletos (*ap.* Steph. Byz. s.v.)⁶⁵ and Strabo (11.2.8) call it a *kome*. Patraeus has been identified with the city-site in the village of Garkushi on the northern shore of the Gulf of Taman, but this needs to be proved. The settlement

60 *Ibidem* 71; E.A. Molev, "Archaeological Investigation of Kytai in 1970–1983," in E.V. Dvoretiskii (ed.), *Archaeological Sites of South-Eastern Europe* (Kursk 1985) 40–67 (in Russian); *idem*, "Bosporan City Kytai," *Arkheologiya* 54 (Kiev 1986) 33–46 (in Russian).

61 See M.H. Hansen, "Kome. A Study in How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements Which Were Not *Poleis*," *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 45–82.

62 N.V. Moleva, "Archaeological Investigation on Cape Takiel in Eastern Crimea," *Ancient World and Archaeology* 7 (1990) 122 (in Russian).

63 *Ibidem* 122–8.

64 Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) (*supra* n. 1) 71–2; Y.V. Gorlov, "Fortification of European Kimmerikon," *Journal of Historical, Philological and Cultural Studies* 4 (1997) 137–43 (in Russian). Ancient authors such as Strabo 11.2.4–5 mention Kimmerikon as a *kome* in the Taman Peninsula as well. The location of this is a matter of scholarly dispute. See A.A. Zavoikin, "Kimmerikon – A *Polis* in Kimmerian Bosphoros," *ibid.* 130–36.

65 D. Whitehead, "Site-Classification and Reliability in Stephanus of Byzantium," *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) 99–124.

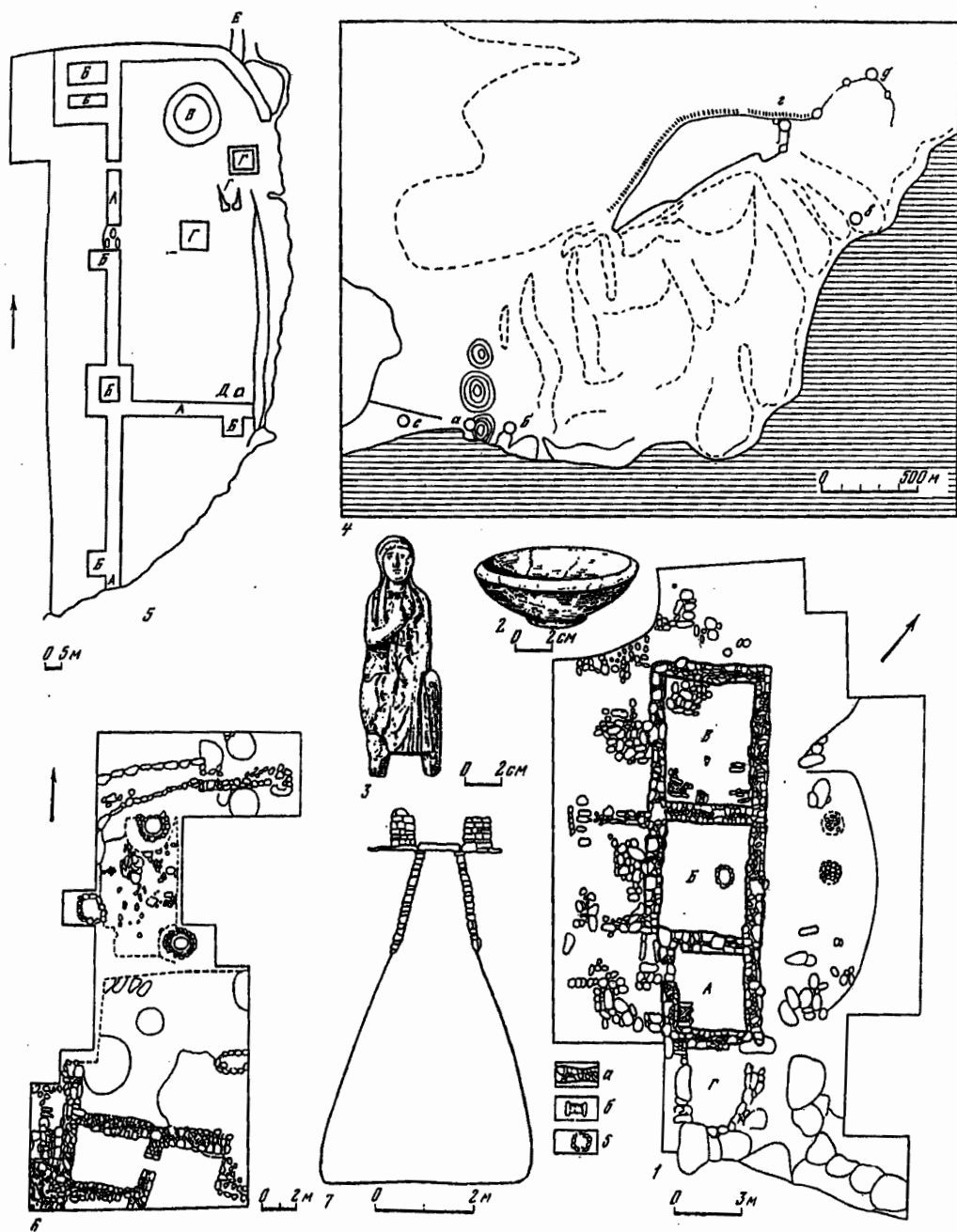


Fig. 11 Plan of Kimmerikon (after Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) [*supra* n. 1] 133).

was founded in the second-third quarter of the sixth century. Until the second half of the fifth century buildings were constructed of mud-brick. Later the settlement was moved to the east but remains of the fourth-third centuries have not yet been found. The fortification system dates from the end of the first century-beginning of the first century AD.⁶⁶

Tyramba

Only two authors mention Tyramba (Strabo 11.2.4; Ptol. *Geog.* 5.8.4). It was situated on the Taman Peninsula and its archaeological identification still causes problems. It is thought that Tyramba was situated 20 km east of Phanagoria on the southern shore of the Sea of Azov. Archaeological excavation has revealed levels from the end of the sixth century to the third century AD, with the remains of dugouts and stone buildings, etc. The necropolis contains burials dating from the same period as the levels on the city-site (including 19 graves of the end of the sixth-fifth century).⁶⁷

Sindike/Sindik Harbour/Gorgippia

Sindike (Hdt. 4.86; Strabo 7.4.6, 11.2.12; Arr. *Peripl.M.Eux.* 18–19; Ps.-Arr. *Peripl.M.Eux.* 62; Plin. *HN* 6.18; Steph. Byz. s.v.) or Sindik Harbour (Ps.-Skymnos 886–889; Strabo 11.2.14; Ptol. *Geog.* 5.8.8; Ps.-Arr. *Peripl.M.Eux.* 62) is mentioned on the Asian side of the Bosphoros as a *polis*. Gorgippia is described in the same way (Strabo 11.2.10; Steph. Byz. s.v.). The location of Sindike/Sindik Harbour is a problem widely discussed in the literature. The commonest opinion is that these three cities were situated in the same place, with a different name in use at different times.

Sindike/Sindik Harbour was established in the sixth century by the Greeks as a trading center. It was inhabited by the local population, the *Sindoi* (hence the name). Later (in the fourth century) it was renamed Gorgippia after a member of the Spartocid dynasty. The identification of Gorgippia with the modern city of Anapa is well established thanks to archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic evidence (the city minted its own coins).⁶⁸ Archaeological investigation has yielded the remains of stone buildings, streets, etc. dating from the fourth century (Fig. 12). Recently the cultural levels and necropolis of the mid-fifth century were found. The earliest dwellings were dugouts. The area of the city was about 40 ha.⁶⁹

66 Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) (*supra* n. 1) 86.

67 *Ibidem* 87; A.K. Korovina, "Tyramba. City-Site and Necropolis," *SGMII* 4 (1968) 50–70.

68 Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) (*supra* n. 1) 82–4 (with bibliography).

69 E.M. Alekseeva, *Greek Colonisation of the North-West Caucasus* (Moscow 1991) in Russian.

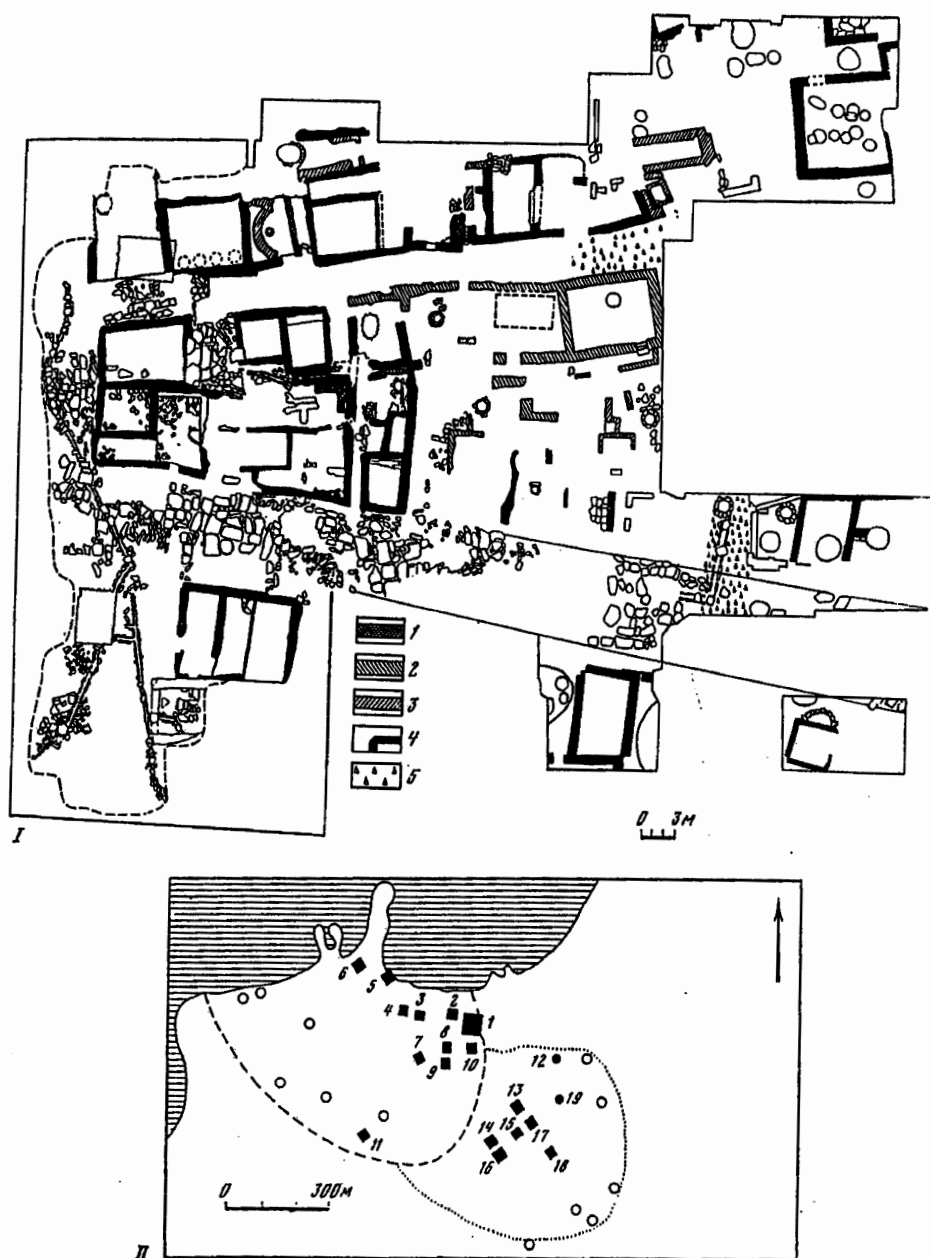


Fig. 12 Plan of Gorgippia (after Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) [*supra* n. 1] 139).

I. Plan of trench 'City'.

1. Remains of fourth-third centuries.

2. Remains of second century.

3. Remains of first century AD.

4. Remains of second-third centuries AD.

5. Tiled paths.

II. Situation of the excavated trenches in the territory of the modern day city of Anapa.

Torikos

This is mentioned as a Hellenic city by Ps.-Skylax (74). It has been identified with the settlement at Gelendzhik Bay, where the remains of a large stone building of the second half of the sixth century were excavated (Fig. 8.2).⁷⁰

Bata

Strabo (11.2.14) mentions Bata as a *kome* with a harbour. The location has caused problems but it is identified with a settlement or settlements in Novorossiisk Bay. Some scholars think that the remains of Bata lie under Novorossiisk airport.⁷¹

Some Conclusions

In many cases (if not all) the available evidence is not such as would permit the accurate identification of the status of these urban centres. Several have not been located and identified archaeologically; written sources just mention names without giving further details, and epigraphic sources are entirely absent for the sixth-fourth centuries. The terminology employed by ancient authors to describe the status of settlements and the meaning of their words (*polis*, *kome*, etc.) vary. Several places are mentioned as *komai* (for example, Korokondama, Aboraka, Achilleion, Kimmeris and Dia in the Asiatic Bosphoros; Strabo 11.2.8–10) but have not been located archaeologically. Often the earliest sources mention a place as a *polis* or Hellenic city but Strabo identifies it as a *kome*. (For example, Myrmekion is called by Strabo once a *polichnion* [7.4.5] and once a *kome* [11.2.6]; sometimes he uses *polis* for a non-Greek city [11.2.4–5].) Does this mean that by Strabo's time they had lost their *polis* identity and become just small villages? This is a very difficult question to answer when archaeological and other sources are absent.⁷²

Three kinds of settlement can be identified within the group of dependent urban settlements. The first was established in the sixth century; archaeological material (architecture, town planning, etc.) enables us to consider it a *polis* albeit a dependent one, situated very close to a larger *polis* by which – probably – it was established (secondary, internal colonisation), although there is no mention of a mother-city. In the European Bosphoros the settlements falling into this category are Myrmekion, Tyritake and Porthmeus (established as a military city). It is possible that Porthmeus was a *teichos*, a type of settlement mentioned in the oath taken by the Chersonitai (*IOSPE* I² 401 = *Syll.*³ 360); in the Asiatic Bosphoros: Patraeus, Tyramba (?) and Torikos (?). The question whether a secondary colony

70 N.A. Onaiko, *Archaic Torikos. Ancient City on the North-East Pontus* (Moscow 1980) in Russian.

71 Kacharava & Kvirkveliya (*supra* n. 1) 41–2 (with bibliography).

72 See Koshelenko & Kuznetsov (*supra* n. 6).

was or was not a *polis* is, in the case of the Bosporan Kingdom, quite difficult to answer. For example, it is well known that the secondary colony founded by Syracuse (Thuc. 6.5.2), Kasmenai, was a *polis* (cf. Hdt. 7.155.2), but Akrai probably was not. According to the evidence presented above it may be supposed that some of the Bosporan cities established as a result of secondary colonisation had *polis* status but were dependent upon other, larger colonies.

The second type of urban centre was one established as a result of secondary, internal colonisation by the Bosporan kings in the fifth-fourth centuries (see below): Kytai, Akra and Kimmerikon in the European Bosphorus and Gorgippia and Bata (?) in the Asiatic. It is extremely difficult to identify the political status of the second type of urban centre. It is obvious that Gorgippia was a *polis*. The others could be *demoi* or *komai*.

The third type was established by Bosporan monarchs as an *emporion* and centre of political influence in non-Greek territory and in non-Greek settlements as a separate quarter in the late Classical/Hellenistic periods. Two such settlements can be identified. The first is the Semibratnoe city-site in Sindik territory not far from Gorgippia, established at the end of the sixth-beginning of the fifth century. The fortification system and stone buildings were excavated; the levels yielded much Greek pottery as well as local.⁷³ The second is the Elizavetovskoe city-site, in which two Bosporan "*emporia*" were identified. This settlement was situated on the borders of the Bosporan Kingdom and the territories of the Scythians, Sarmatians and Maeotians and existed from the first half of the fifth century to the first half of the third century.⁷⁴ Some time after it had ceased to exist another settlement of a similar type was established, Tanais.⁷⁵ Strabo (11.2.3) gives a very clear description of this type of settlement:

On the river and the lake is an inhabited city bearing the same name, Tanais; it was founded by the Greeks who held the Bosphorus. Recently, however, it was sacked by King Polemon because it would not obey him. It was a common emporium, partly of the Asiatic and the

- 73 Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) (*supra* n. 1) 87–8. On the meaning of the term *emporion*, see A. Bresson and P. Rouillard (eds.), *L'emporion* (Paris 1993), and M.H. Hansen, "Emporion. A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods" (in this volume 83–105). It is possible that these Bosporan trading settlements had the same character and status as Pistiros in Thrace (Hansen *ibidem*). In any case, like Pistiros, they lacked *polis* status. (For the latest publication on Pistiros, see J. Bouzek, M. Domaradzki, & Z.H. Archibald [eds.], *Pistiros 1. Excavations and Studies* [Prague 1996] esp. 205–40).
- 74 K.K. Marchenko, "Bosporan Settlement in the Elizavetovskoe City-Site," in Koshelenko (ed.) (*supra* n. 1) 174–86; *idem*, "Die Siedlung von Elisavetovka – ein griechisch-barbarisches Emporion im Don-delta," *Klio* 68.2 (1986) 277–98; *idem*, "Bosporan Colonies in the Territory of Elizavetovskoe City-Site on Don," in Molev (ed.) (*supra* n. 4) 53–62; I.B. Brašinskij, *Greek Ceramic Import in the Lower Don in the 5th–3rd Centuries BC* (Leningrad 1980) in Russian; I.B. Brašinskij & K.K. Marčenko, *Elisavetevskoje: Skythische Stadt im Don-Delta* (München 1984).
- 75 On recent archaeological excavation of Tanais, with bibliography, see B. Böttger, "Joint Excavation in Tanais," in Tsetschladze (ed.) (*supra* n. 6) 41–50; T. Arsen'eva, B. Böttger & J. Vinogradov, "Griechen am Don. Die Grabungen in Tanais 1994," *Eurasia Antiqua* 1 (1995/96) 213–64; T.M. Arsen'eva & B. Böttger, "Griechen am Don. Die Grabungen in Tanais 1995," *Eurasia Antiqua* 2 (1996) 405–53.

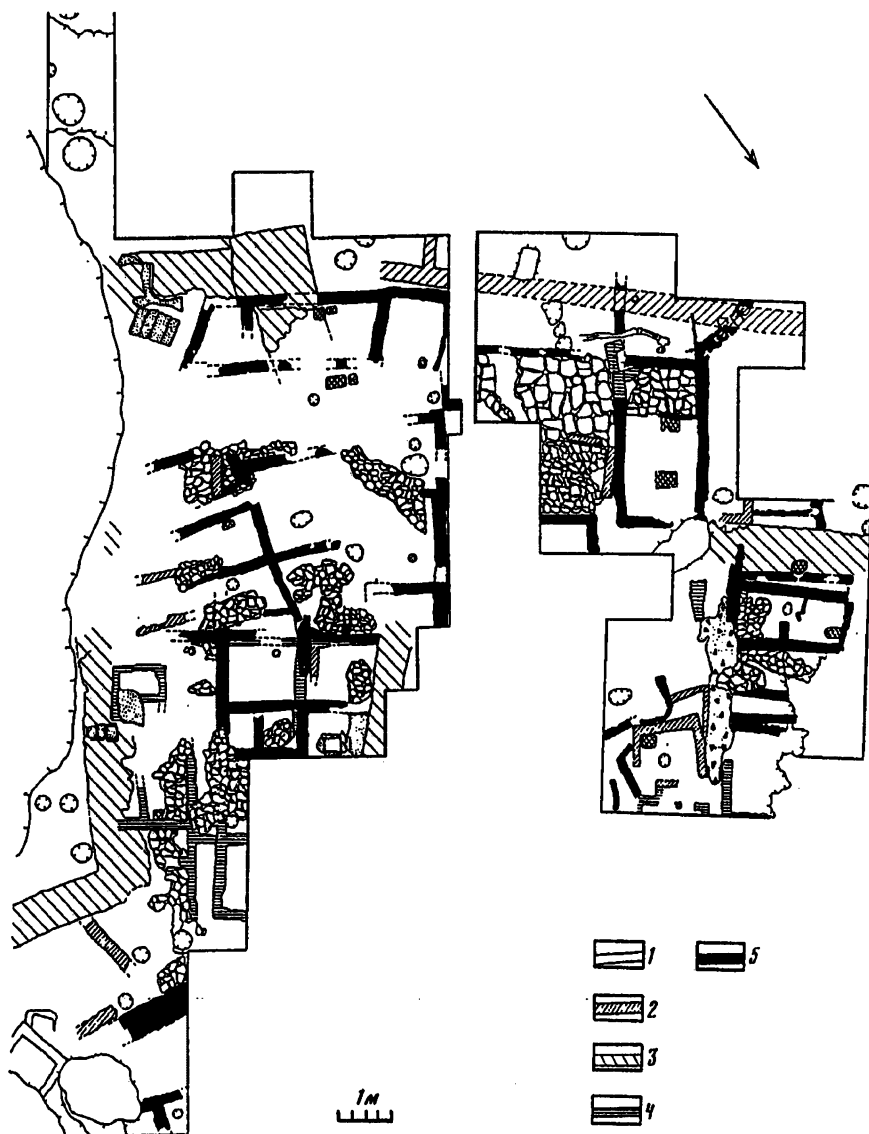


Fig. 13 Plan of the excavation of Zenon Chersonesos (after Maslennikov [*infra* n. 77] 122).
 1. Walls of fifth-fourth centuries. 2. Walls of third-second centuries.
 3. Walls of second-first centuries. 4. Walls of the third-fourth centuries AD.
 5. Walls of the first-sixth centuries AD.

European nomads, and partly of those who navigated the lake from the Bosphorus, the former bringing slaves, hides, and such other things as nomads possess, and the latter giving in exchange clothing, wine, and the other things that belong to civilised life (trans. by H.L. Jones).

The Raevskoe city-site, established at the end of the fourth-beginning of the third century and with Greek type of architecture (Fig. 8.3), might have been a further settlement of this kind.⁷⁶

In both the European Bosphoros (Kerch Peninsula) and Asiatic Bosphoros (Taman Peninsula) large settlements whose political status is very difficult to identify have been excavated: for example, the settlement identified as Zenon Chersonesos (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.6.4), where fortifications and stone buildings (fifth century BC-sixth century AD) were found (Fig. 13).⁷⁷ Discovery of a graffito gives grounds for considering this as a grain producing settlement in the *chora* (see below) of the Bosporan Kingdom.⁷⁸ Another important settlement is situated at the village of "Za Rodinu" in the Taman Peninsula, 1.5 km from the Sea of Azov. Excavation has revealed levels of the fifth-fourth centuries, but without architectural remains, just (in the main) pottery. A sanctuary, *Apatouron*, one of the three known in the Taman Peninsula, was founded here. It dates from the early third-second centuries and consists of a colonnaded courtyard and a round *tholos* structure. After its destruction the area was occupied by the fortified residence of a Hellenised Sarmatian chief – Chrysaliskos (*ca.* 47–17).⁷⁹

Sometimes there is clear indication of the existence of an urban centre but no possibility of establishing its status: for example, a settlement existed at the place where the Tuzlian necropolis is situated (where the earliest graves date from 580–560). The settlement was completely destroyed by the sea. This settlement has been identified by some with Korokondama.

4. The *chorai* of the Bosporan cities. Population

To understand why some *poleis* (the so-called "small cities of the Bosphoros") can be considered as dependent *poleis*, and the result of secondary, internal colonisation by larger *poleis*, it is necessary to examine the results of studies of the *chorai* of the Bosporan cities in the Archaic (especially) and Classical periods.⁸⁰

76 Koshelenko *et al.* (eds.) (*supra* n. 1) 92.

77 A.A. Maslennikov, "Zenon Chersonesos – Small Town on the Sea of Maeotis," in Koshelenko (ed.) (*supra* n. 1) 120–73.

78 *Idem*, "New Data on Bosporan Farmers," in V.P. Yailenko (ed.), *Epigraphy of Ancient Asia Minor and Northern and Western Black Sea Littorals as an Historical and Linguistic Source* (Moscow 1985) 138–47 (in Russian).

79 N.I. Sokolskii, *Taman Tholos and Residence of Chrysaliskos* (Moscow 1976) in Russian; J. Hind in *AR* for 1983/84 89.

80 See also the literature cited *supra* n. 7. The study of the *chorai* is based mainly on survey work. Archaeological excavation was carried out on a very small scale. There are no written sources. The chief source is archaeological evidence which still requires thorough analytical study and full publication. Reconstruction of the political situation is based mainly on hypotheses, one piled upon another.

Three of the towns identified as dependent *poleis* above (Myrmekion, Tyritake and Porthmeus) were established in the second quarter-middle of the sixth century, after the foundation of Pantikapaion, and all are situated within 11 km of it. They were placed on capes at the entrance to the bays behind which Pantikapaion was situated. In the Archaic period we know of only about six agricultural settlements, of which only three can be identified as belonging to Pantikapaion (another three were in the *chora* of Nymphaion).⁸¹ In the fifth century 10–12 settlements are known and more than 200 from the fourth century.⁸² Why are there practically no agricultural settlements around Pantikapaion (and Nymphaion)? It is very difficult to provide an answer. Probably, the reasons should be found in the political situation and local populations in the eastern Crimea. Some scholars have already paid attention to the information provided by Herodotus (4.28):

The whole of this aforementioned country [Scythia] is so gripped by winter that for eight months of the year there is truly unbearable frost such that, in those months, when you spill water, you do not make mud, but if you light a fire you will. The sea freezes over and also the entire Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Scythians who live this side of the trench move in campaign over the ice and drive their wagons across into the land of the Sindi (trans. by D. Grene).

The conclusion drawn is that Scythians living in the eastern Crimea or nearby passed through the territory around the Greek cities during their frequent migrations from the Crimea to the Kuban region via the Taman Peninsula.⁸³ In this situation it was difficult to maintain a *chora* but Pantikapaion (and Nymphaion) had to be able to support themselves. Probably, Myrmekion, Tyritake and Porthmeus were established by Pantikapaion to offer protection from the local population but also to serve as agricultural and trading centres.⁸⁴ The position with regard to Nymphaion is less clear. The three settlements (Yuzhno Churubashskoe, and Geroevka 1 and 2) were situated in the *chora* of the city.⁸⁵ It is probable that Akra and Kimmerikon were established by Nymphaion but these cities require definite location and large scale archaeological investigation.

In the Taman Peninsula things were quite different. Neither the *chora* of Phanagoria, the main colony of the Asiatic Bosphorus, nor the agricultural territories

81 I.T. Kruglikova, *Agriculture of the Bosphorus* (Moscow 1975) 27–8 (in Russian); A.A. Maslennikov, "Ancient Greeks in the Crimean Azov Area," *VDI* 1995.2, 83–5.

82 *Ibidem*.

83 M.Y. Vakhtina, Y.A. Vinogradov & E.Y. Rogov, "On One of the Directions of Military Campaigns and Seasonal Migrations of the Nomad Scythians," *VDI* 1980.4, 150–60; M.Y. Vakhtina, "Greek Settlements of the North Black Sea Region and Nomads in the 7th–6th Centuries BC," in B.A. Raev (ed.), *Nomads of the Eurasian Steppes and the Ancient World* (Novocherkassk 1989) 74–88 (in Russian). See also *supra* n. 4. This theory, of course, has many weaknesses, since we do not know how long the straits were frozen, how many Scythians could migrate and how often; but it seems realistic.

84 Some scholars (probably rightly) call these small cities *Ackerburg/Stadtdorf*. See Y.A. Vinogradov 1993 (*supra* n. 7) 93–4.

85 On the *chora* of Nymphaion, see S.L. Solovov & V.N. Zinko, "Research on the *Chora* of Nymphaion. Study Problems," *Archeologia* (Warszawa) XLV (1994) 73–8. We know nothing about the *chora* of Theodosia.

of other Greek cities (Hermonassa, Kepoi, Patraeus) on the Taman Peninsula have ever been the subjects of special study, which means that nothing is known about them.⁸⁶ Only in the 1980s was a survey of the whole Taman Peninsula undertaken to create an archaeological map. This survey showed that there are about 237 settlements of the Graeco-Roman and Mediaeval periods, more than 500 barrows and 150 km of ancient roads.⁸⁷ Authors have mainly used amphora fragments to date these settlements, which gives only one side of the picture. Quite often the dates are not accurate because the study of other kinds of material is necessary.⁸⁸ The conclusion reached by these authors is that the earliest settlements on the peninsula date from the middle to third quarter of the sixth century, and 25 settlements of that period are known. The vast majority of settlements date from the fourth century. From this it could be concluded that if, indeed, these settlements belonged to the *chora* of Phanagoria then Phanagoria had begun to create its *chora* immediately upon its foundation. But, none of them has been excavated properly, and so it is very difficult to say to which of the four Greek colonies on the peninsula they belonged. The current level of our knowledge, however, does not permit any statement about the organisation of the *chora*, how the agricultural territory was divided between the four colonies, or what was grown (and if grain, in what quantity).⁸⁹

In these circumstances we can assume that Patraeus and maybe Tyramba were established as dependent *poleis* of Hermonassa (Phanagoria was founded later), and Bata of Torikos – the Scythians also kept passing through these areas – but much more evidence is needed to make this more than just an hypothesis. The main problem, as I have indicated on several occasions above, is lack of sources.

- 86 Rural settlements around Gorgippia have been investigated but the study of the *chora* is still in its initial stage. About 15 settlements have been studied (survey or excavation), mainly those existing from the 4th century (when the city was [re]named Gorgippia). Very few are dated to the late Archaic period. See *supra* n. 69; E.A. Alekseeva, "Towards the Study of Rural Settlements around Gorgippia," in I.T. Kruglikova (ed.), *Gorgippia* Vol. 1 (Krasnodar 1980) 18–50 (in Russian).
- 87 I. Paromov, "Intervention sur la péninsule de Taman," in Lordkipanidzé & Lévêque (eds.) (*supra* n. 2) 161–4; *idem*, "Survey of the Archaeological Sites of the Taman Peninsula in 1984–1985," *KSIA* 196 (1989) 72–78; *idem*, "Essay on the History of the Archaeological-Topographical Investigations of the Taman Peninsula," *BS* 1 (1992) 109–46; *idem*, *Main Stages of the Cultivation of the Taman Peninsula in Ancient Times* (St. Petersburg 1994) summary of doctoral dissertation (in Russian); A.P. Abramov & Y.M. Paromov, "Archaic and Classical Settlements of the Taman Peninsula," *BS* 2 (1993) 25–98.
- 88 G.A. Koshelenko & G.R. Tsetschlade, "Review of *Bosporan Collection*, Vols. 1–5, Moscow 1992–1994," in Tsetschlade (ed.) (*supra* n. 6) 150.
- 89 Recently, Y. Gorlov & Y. Lopanov, "Ancient System of Melioration in the Taman Peninsula," *VDI* 1995.3, 121–37 published the results of a study of the climate of the Taman Peninsula, based on surveys and aerial photography; they established that in the 4th–1st centuries, thanks to the dry climate and the geographical conditions on the Taman Peninsula, it was necessary to create a melioration system as well as to irrigate lands. The authors considered that the ramparts they revealed were traces of rural settlements on the Taman Peninsula. Once again, unfortunately, there is no evidence about the melioration system of the 6th–5th centuries. Probably, the climatic conditions were more welcoming than in the 4th century.

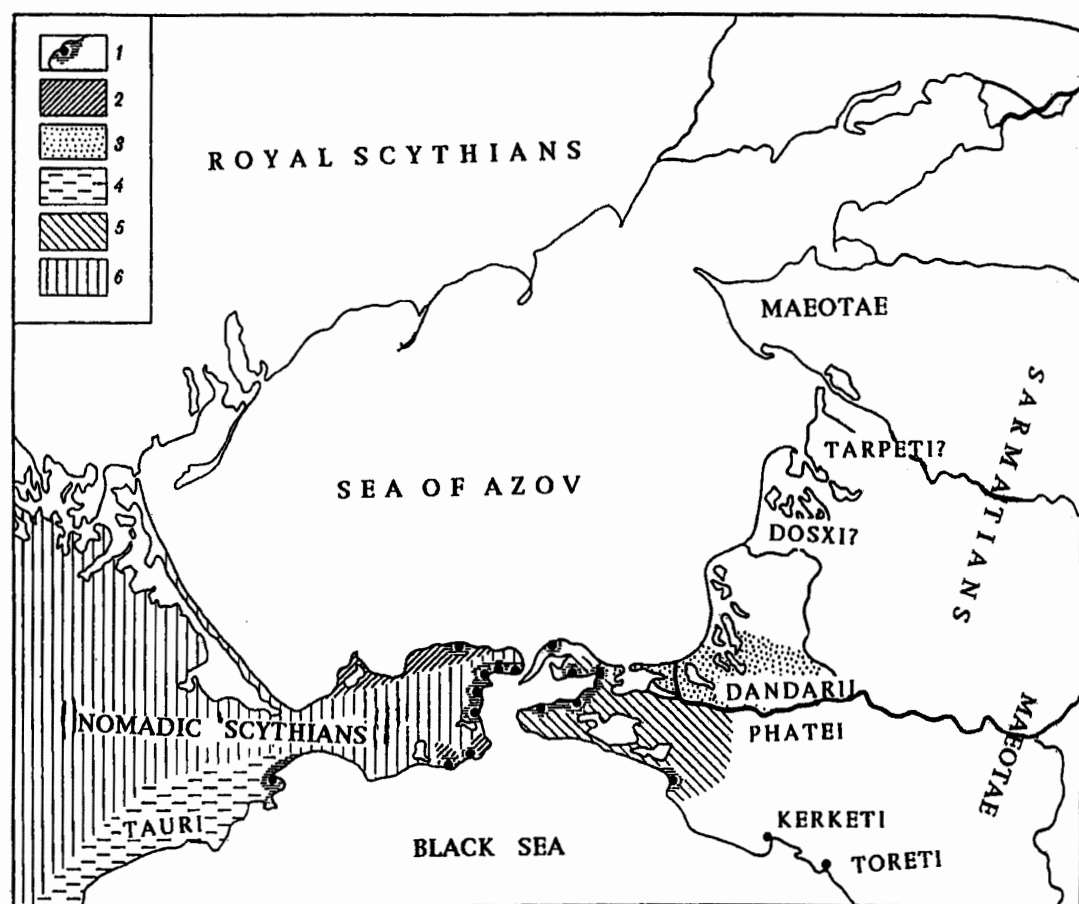


Fig. 14 Ethnic map of the north-east Pontos in the sixth-fifth centuries (after Maslennikov [infra n. 90] 41).

1. Greek cities.
2. Population of the coastal area of the Kerch Peninsula identified with burial in stone boxes.
3. *Dandarioi*.
4. *Tauroi*.
5. *Sindoi*.
6. Scythians.

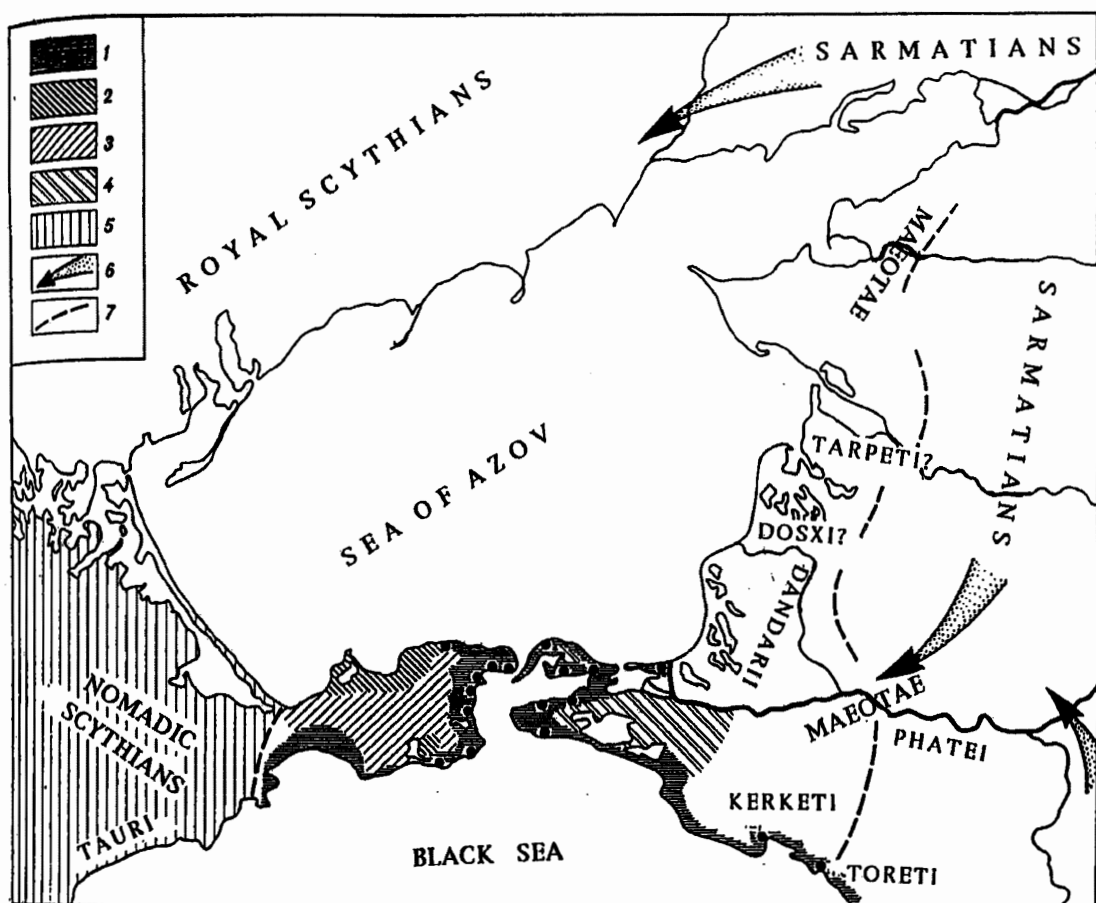


Fig. 15 Ethnic map of the north-east Pontos in the fourth century (after Maslennikov [*infra* n. 90] 64).

1. Bosporan cities.
2. Population of some coastal areas of the Kerch Peninsula.
3. Agricultural Scythians.
4. *Sindoi*.
5. Nomadic Scythians.
6. Direction of Sarmatian penetration.
7. Borders of the Bosporan Kingdom.

The Greek cities of the Kimmerian Bosporos were surrounded by the local population. Often the situation changed, as is clearly shown in Figs. 14 and 15. Was the Kerch Peninsula populated by local people in the Archaic period? According to ancient tradition, nomadic Scythians used to live there. In the northern part of the peninsula some local ethnic groups have left behind burials in stone boxes.⁹⁰ To trace nomadic tribes archaeologically is very difficult: they moved around a lot. So far some 10 Scythian graves of the Archaic period are known from the eastern Crimea. In the Classical period (especially in the fourth century) the situation was changing.

In the Taman Peninsula the position is more complicated. From the written sources we know that Gorgippia, for example, was situated in Sindik territory (Strabo 11. 2. 10). This territory was later incorporated in the Bosporan Kingdom, but Strabo states that Phanagoria was not situated in their territory (11. 2. 10). The territories of these tribes changed frequently. According to the archaeological material available so far, there was no local population in the Taman Peninsula when the first Greeks established their cities. Currently, scholarly discussion about Scythians and Scythian culture is once again intense, especially concerning the question of the presence of Scythians on the northern shores of the Black Sea.⁹¹ We have only one isolated example of a Scythian burial in the Taman Peninsula, not far from the Tsukurskii *Liman*, dated to the first half of the sixth century. This may show some sort of Scythian presence in this territory but not to an extent that would have caused the Greeks any problem in settling there. For the fifth century, by contrast, we have evidence which shows that Scythian, Maeotian and Sindik ethnic groups formed part of the population of Greek cities.

The ethnic composition of the Greek cities is a very complex matter. First of all there is the question of how to interpret hand-made pottery found in their earliest habitation levels.⁹² In Myrmekion, in the middle of the sixth century, hand-made pottery comprises between 24% and 37%; parallels to this pottery may be found in the local sites of the Kuban region. In Nymphaion, the hand-made pottery is mainly Scythian; in the Greek cities of the Taman Peninsula it has Maeotian features, which is not surprising since the local population of the Kuban, not far distant from the Taman Peninsula, was Maeotian.⁹³

90 See A.A. Maslennikov, *Population of the Bosporan State in the 6th–2nd Centuries BC* (Moscow 1981) 15–65 (in Russian); *idem*, *Stone Boxes of the Eastern Crimea (On the History of the Rural Population of the European Bosporos in the 6th–1st Centuries BC)* (Moscow 1995) in Russian. The literature about the local population of the northern Black Sea region is extensive. For a detailed study, with a bibliography, see my forthcoming articles (*supra* n. 4 and n. 47).

91 See *supra* n. 90.

92 A great many articles have been written about hand-made pottery from Bosporan cities. There is only one book dedicated to this kind of pottery, and the coverage of the book is limited to the European Bosporos; however, the author draws comparisons with the Asiatic Bosporos and gives literature for it as well. See E.G. Kastanayan, *Hand-Made Pottery of the Bosporan Cities* (Leningrad 1981) in Russian. See also Tsetskhladze *supra* n. 4 and n. 46.

93 Vinogradov 1995 (*supra* n. 7) 158–9.

The proportion of hand-made pottery is very high. It is hard to imagine that about one third of the population of the Greek cities was non-Greek. It seems more reasonable to suggest either that the Greeks bought this pottery from the natives for their own use or commissioned its production by the local population.⁹⁴ The former seems more likely. The first colonists indeed needed pottery before they could start making it for themselves, whilst imports from the mother-city would be insufficient for their needs and for trading with the local peoples.⁹⁵

There is not much prosopographical evidence for the sixth-fifth centuries. Names are of Iranian (mainly Scythian?) and, to a lesser extent, Thracian origin as well as Greek. Mixed marriages can also be traced, but mainly for the fourth century (from names on grave stelae).⁹⁶

Identification of Greek and non-Greek features in the burial customs of the Greek necropoleis of the Bosphoran Greek cities is also problematic. It is not always possible to be certain which features are Hellenic and which non-Greek. Not many Archaic graves are known. It is more profitable to study the burials of the fifth century and, particularly, the fourth-third centuries. In the flat burials of the sixth-fifth centuries 19.7% can be identified as containing some non-Greek elements: for the European Bosphoros this is 4.9% (Scythian elements); for the Asiatic (where the local population was more homogeneous – see Figs. 14 and 15), 30%. For flat graves, the picture for the fourth century and beginning of the third century is as follows: Nymphaion, 10 burials known, 2 of which have some non-Greek elements (in the literature these are usually orientation, nature of grave goods, location, weapons, etc.);⁹⁷ Tyritake, 3 and 1; Pantikapaion, 251 and 27; Myrmekion, 80 and 7; Kepoi, 3 and 1; Phanagoria, 7 and 5; Hermonassa, 7 and 2.⁹⁸

5. The Bosphoran Kingdom

The relationship between the Scythians and other local peoples and the Greeks living in the Kimmerian Bosphoros was mainly peaceful until the end of the sixth century. Excavation of the Greek cities and settlements almost everywhere shows traces of fire and destruction at the end of the sixth century-beginning of the fifth century. The appearance of the first fortifications (if such they be) in Myrmekion

94 I am most grateful to Prof. Sir John Boardman for pointing out this interpretation.

95 Some Greek cities (Pantikapaion, Nymphaion, Phanagoria) started their own pottery production from the end of the 6th century (*supra* n. 25 and n. 33).

96 Maslennikov (*supra* n. 90) 37, 59. The best study of personal names from the northern Black Sea is L. Zgusta, *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der Nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste. Die ethnischen Verhältnisse, namentlich das Verhältnis der Skythen und Sarmaten, im Lichte der Namensforschung* (Prague 1955). The author examines 1190 names.

97 All these features are very superficial indications. Where you have Greek cities surrounded by local peoples, some of whom are also inhabitants of the cities, the various features get intermixed. Thus, it is very difficult to say which are Greek elements and which non-Greek.

98 Maslennikov (*supra* n. 90) 35 and 51–8.

and Porthmeus must date to this time. Pantikapaion even lost its architectural appearance as a *polis*: dugouts again were constructed as dwelling houses.⁹⁹ Is it possible to link this destruction and decline of *polis* life to any particular event which might help to explain it? The answer could be found in political events of the times, which changed the history of the Greek cities in the Kimmerian Bosporos.

At the end of the sixth century the political situation in the Black Sea changed completely. Some time between 519 and 512, the Persian king Dareios invaded Scythia across the Danube to punish it for having occupied Upper Asia and for its raiding activities, and also in consequence of the dynamics of his own empire (Hdt. 4.83-142). The scale of the invasion is a matter of scholarly dispute. The act itself ended in a *débâcle* for the Persians and led to the formation of a satrapy in southern Thrace and Paeonia, and the conversion of Macedonia into a client state.¹⁰⁰ The reputation of the Scythians amongst the Greeks was greatly enhanced. According to Herodotus (4.46; 6.84), by the early fifth century mainland Greeks felt that only the Scythians and themselves were capable of holding and repulsing the Persian threat and even of invading that empire itself. The Greeks to the north and west of the Black Sea were now subject to the demands of an acknowledged major power, and the Scythians themselves began to attack Bosporan Greek cities.

Thus, the destruction of the Bosporan cities can be connected with the beginning of the Scythian attack on Greek cities (*supra* n. 99). Another development in the Kimmerian Bosporos at the beginning of the fifth century (according to the scholarly literature) was the creation in *ca.* 480 of the Bosporan Kingdom.¹⁰¹ There is only one source – Diodorus 12.31.1 – which is not very clear. Although most academics accept this date articles still appear seeking to provide a later date for the establishment of the Bosporan state.¹⁰² These should not be ignored and this difficult question requires further thorough study.

The reason for the establishment of the Bosporan Kingdom is thought to be the need of the Bosporan Greek cities to enlarge their territory to accommodate the needs of an increasing population. But enlargement was difficult: Scythians were living close to the cities and conflict would ensue. At the same time the Scythians and the local population of the Taman Peninsula began their own expansion towards the Greek cities. To withstand this new adversity the only

99 V.P. Tolstikov, "Towards the Problem of the Establishment of the Bosporan State," *VDI* 1984.3, 27–8; *idem* (*supra* n. 15) 77; Vinogradov 1992 (*supra* n. 56); Maslennikov (*supra* n. 7) 62.

100 E.V. Chernenko, *The Scytho-Persian War* (Kiev 1984) 7–17 and 100–12 (in Russian); I. Gershevitch (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran* Vol. 2 (Cambridge 1985) 190–1 and 300–2; *CAH*² IV 234–53.

101 See literature cited *supra* n. 1.

102 A.N. Vasilev, "On the Date of the Establishment of the Bosporan State," in A.K. Gavrilov (ed.), *Studies on Ancient History and Culture of the North Black Sea Littoral* (St. Petersburg 1992) 111–28 (in Russian); A.A. Zavoikin, Βόσπορος Κιμμέριος – Βόσπορος – Diod. XII. 31. 1 (Survey of Sources)," *Journal of Historical, Philological and Cultural Studies* (Magnitogorsk/Moscow) 1 (1994) 64–70 (in Russian).

solution was to unite. The Greek cities of the Kerch and Taman peninsulas were united (in a *symmachia*?) as a single state with its capital at Pantikapaion. Except for Theodosia and Nymphaion all cities joined the Bosporan Kingdom, which was first ruled by the Archaeanactidae dynasty (probably of Milesian origin), a clan of *tyrannoi* whose power lasted for 42 years (Diod. 12.31.1). All cities were, in theory, autonomous *poleis* (Syll.³ 215, 217), but in reality they were all dependent on Pantikapaion – none of the other cities possessed a separate coinage until the end of the fifth century – and the fifth century kings spent much time keeping the cities within their kingdom.¹⁰³ At the same time the Bosporan tyrants started to establish new cities (the second type of dependent *poleis* – see above section 3).

Coins with the inscription ΑΠΙΟΑ (as well as ΠΑ, ΑΠ) cause problems. Several interpretations have been put forward. Nowadays, the opinion accepted by many scholars is that of Vinogradov: that these coins were struck at the mint of the temple of Apollo in Pantikapaion (built in the second quarter of the fifth century) as an “alliance” issue of the cities. These coins were not minted for long – just until the last quarter of the fifth century when the need for the confederation of Bosporan cities had passed. A new dynasty, the Spartocids (Thracian in origin) came to power in 438/437 and the creation of the Bosporan state was completed.¹⁰⁴

This dynasty ruled for over 300 years (until 109). Although Spartocid rulers have been called variously “tyrants”, “dynasts” and “kings”, their official title was always *archon*.¹⁰⁵ From the outset the main aim of the new dynasty was to incorporate Theodosia and Nymphaion into the Bosporan Kingdom by force, but they succeeded only at the time of Leucon I (389/88–348/48).¹⁰⁶ From the middle of the fifth century, starting with the Archaeanictidae, the policy was to incorporate the local population of the Taman Peninsula in the kingdom through the establishment of Bosporan *emporía* in their settlements (the third type of urban centre, see above section 3). This work was completed by Leucon I and the *Sindoi* and others were incorporated peacefully.¹⁰⁷ In the time of Paerisades I (344/43–

103 Vinogradov (*supra* n. 6) 400–1 and 416–17; *idem*, “Die historische Entwicklung der Polis des nördlichen Schwarzmeergebietes im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.,” *Chiron* 10 (1980) 78–9 and 95–6.

104 Tolstikov (*supra* n. 99) 47 n. 95; N.A. Frolova, “On the Problem of Minting Coins with the Inscription ΑΠΙΟΑ,” *BS* 6 (1995) 205–12; *eadem*, *supra* n. 54.

105 See J. Hind in *CAH* (*supra* n. 1) 495–502.

106 Petrova (*supra* n. 49); in Theodosia the population was from the beginning hostile to Pantikapaion and opposing the tyrants of Pantikapaion.

107 There is a debate about the interpretation of silver coins of ca. 425–400 with the inscription ΣΙΝΔΩΝ. Some scholars believe they were minted by the Sindik people, proving the existence of a Sindik kingdom. Another interpretation is that they were minted by the Greek city of Sindike (before it was renamed Gorgippia in the 4th century). Common to both opinions is that the minting took place in one of the Greek cities of the Taman Peninsula. Recently, A.A. Zavoikin & S.I. Boldirev, “A Third Opinion on the Coins with the Legend ‘ΣΙΝΔΩΝ’,” *BS* 4 (1994) 43–7 advanced another interpretation: that the coins were an “alliance” issue of the Greek cities situated on the Taman Peninsula (since this area was known as Sindike, after the local population, the Sindoi) who had united against the aggression of the Spartocids. In this interpretation it is suggested that coins with the legend ΑΠΙΟΑ were the “alliance” issue of the Greek cities of the Kerch Peninsula (only).

311/10) Bosporan territory reached its greatest extent, stretching from *Tauroi* to the Caucasian Mountains (see Fig. 15). Its kings called themselves in inscriptions "Archon of Bosporos" or "Archon of Bosporos and Theodosia" and, subsequently "King of the *Sindoi*, *Toretai*, *Dandarioi* and *Psestoi*" or of "the *Sindoi* and *Maiotai*".¹⁰⁸

A further question which needs to be considered is the Pontic Expedition of Perikles, in consequence of which the names of Bosporan cities appear in the *ATL*. Can the *ATL* be used as a source for identifying them as *poleis* or non-*poleis*? In many cases the *ATL* is indeed a very good indication of the *polis* status of urban centres.¹⁰⁹ Athenian-North Pontic relations (including those with the Bosporan Kingdom) have long been the subject of special study, as has Perikles' Pontic Expedition.¹¹⁰ Only a few scholars share my doubts both about Plutarch's information (*Per.* 20.1–2) about the expedition and the great importance of the expedition for the Pontic region.¹¹¹ The main problem, however, lies with the assessment decree of 425/4 in which there are several fragmentary names of Pontic cities which scholars have reconstructed without sufficient evidence.¹¹² For example, Κῠ[μερικόν] when Κῠ is the beginning of the name of some other cities,¹¹³ or Nymphaion, reconstructed on the basis of the supposedly extant letters NY, when more detailed study showed the second letter to be "I".¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, it is still believed that Nymphaion was a member of the Delian League.¹¹⁵ Thus, the *ATL* must be used with extreme caution to identify Bosporan cities.

108 *CIRB* 6, 8–11, 37, 113, 972, 1013–15, 1037–40, 1111.

109 For the latest studies, see W. Schuller, "Poleis im ersten attischen Seebund," *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 165–70.

110 J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* I (Strassburg 1893) 502–04; M. Delcourt, *Périclès* (Paris 1940) 153–5; J.H. Oliver, "The Peace of Callias and the Pontic Expedition of Pericles," *Historia* 6 (1957) 253–5; I.B. Brashinskii, "Pontic Expedition of Pericles," *VDI* 1958.3, 110–20; *idem*, *Athens and the Northern Black Sea Littoral* (Moscow 1963) 56–70 (in Russian); P.I. Karyshkovskii, "Olbia and the Athenian Arche," *Materials on the Archaeology of the Northern Black Sea Littoral* 3 (Odessa 1959) 57–100 (in Russian); D. Kagan, *The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War* (London 1969) 180–1, 387–9; R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1972) 197–9; Y.G. Vinogradov, "Sinope and Olbia in the 5th Century BC. Problems of Political Structure," *VDI* 1981.2, 63–8; J. Bouzek, "Athènes et la Mer Noire," *BCH* 113 (1989) 249–59; M. Angelescu, "Un problème controversé: l'expédition de Périclès dans le Pont Euxin," *Pontica* 25 (1992) 45–54; H.B. Mattingly, "Athens and the Black Sea in the Fifth Century BC," in Lordkipanidzé & Lévêque (eds.) (*supra* n. 3) 151–8.

111 P. Ferrarese, "La spedizione di Pericle nel Ponto Eusino," in *Propaganda e persuasione occulta nell' antichità*, Contributi dell' Istituto di storia antica 2 (Milano 1974) 7–19; G.R. Tsetsckhladze, "Trade on the Black Sea in the Archaic and Classical Periods: Some Observations," forthcoming in C. Smith & H. Parkins (eds.), *Trade, Traders and the City* (London/New York 1998); *idem*, "Plutarch, Pericles and Pontus: Some Thoughts," forthcoming in C. Schrader (ed.), *Plutarcho y la Historia*, Proceedings of the 5th Symposium of the International Plutarch Society (Zaragoza 1997).

112 *IG* I³ 71.IV.163–70.

113 Cf. A. Avram, "Poleis und nicht-Poleis im ersten und zweiten attischen Seebund," *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 195–7.

114 *IG* I³ 71; Brashinskii 1963 (*supra* n. 110) 72–3.

115 Shelov-Kovedyaev (*supra* n. 1) 105–12.

6. Conclusions

Initially, the settlements established by Milesian and other Ionian colonists in the Kimmerian Bosphorus were small and without any *polis* identity.¹¹⁶ Only from the middle of the sixth century – after 50 years in existence – did they become *poleis*. From the start, the development of Bosphoran cities depended on the pattern of development of the local population, resulting in differences between *poleis* situated on the Kerch and Taman peninsulas. Before the fifth century the cities of the eastern Crimea were without their own rural settlements, forced by Scythian migrations to establish dependent *poleis* around Pantikapaion and on the coast as agricultural and trading centres.

The establishment of the Bosphoran Kingdom, brought about chiefly in response to political developments among the local population, created a situation in which all Bosphoran cities became dependencies of Pantikapaion. By the middle to second half of the fourth century all the local tribes of the Taman Peninsula were brought within the Bosphoran state: the policy of the Bosphoran rulers aimed at this from the start. From the fifth century they set up Bosphoran trading centres within local settlements and, at the same time, established new cities in the direction of Theodosia and Nymphaion, and thus forced these cities into the Bosphoran Kingdom. Thus, from the middle of the fourth century, all Bosphoran *poleis* were dependencies of Pantikapaion.¹¹⁷

Gocha R. Tsetsckhladze
Department of Classics
Royal Holloway and Bedford New College
University of London

116 One possibility is to suggest that these colonies were dependencies of their mother-cities in Ionia (by *isopoliteia*), but the reasons for Ionian colonisation (for which see Tsetsckhladze [*supra* n. 2] 123–6) indicate that there could not be any dependency of the colony on the mother-city. Such *isopoliteia* existed according to the evidence probably only from the last quarter of the fourth century when Miletos and other Ionian cities were freed from Persian rule by Alexander the Great (A.J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*² [Chicago 1983] 89–117).

117 I am deeply grateful to Prof. Sir John Boardman, Prof. K. Raaflaub, Prof. A.J. Graham, Dr. John Hind and Dr. Mogens H. Hansen for their comments on this paper.

EMPORION.
A STUDY OF THE USE AND MEANING OF THE TERM
IN THE ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL PERIODS

by

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

The concept of *emporion* may be found in any account of Greek colonisation and in any discussion of foreign trade in the ancient Greek world. Recently a whole book has been devoted to the use and meaning of the term.¹ It contains the acts of six seminars held in 1989–91, and the longest contribution is an extremely valuable article by Alain Bresson about the Greek cities and their *emporia*.² I agree with many of the observations and conclusions published by Bresson and his colleagues, and this study is an addition and not an objection to their views. The distinction between communities which had an *emporion* and communities which were *emporia* deserves a full treatment which reveals that almost all *emporia* were *poleis* which had an *emporion* and that most of the named sites attested both as being *emporia* and as *poleis* are also known to have been dependencies, e.g. of the Pharaoh, or the King of Bosphoros, or the Thasians, or the Olynthians, or the Thracian king Kotys. Thus, a site classified as both a *polis* and an *emporion* seems to be a specific type of dependent *polis*, namely one in which the port was the dominant part of the settlement. There is only one attested named *emporion*, viz., Pistyros in inland Thrace, for which it can be established that it was *not* a *polis*.

1. The sources

Like *kome*, *emporion* is one of the terms which has found favour with modern historians although it is not much used in the sources. Pithekoussai in Italy³ and Al Mina in Syria⁴ are settlements which modern historians like to describe as

- 1 A. Bresson & P. Rouillard (eds.), *L'emporion* (Paris 1993).
- 2 A. Bresson, "Les cités grecs et leurs *emporia*," in Bresson & Rouillard (*supra* n. 1) 163–226.
- 3 M. Frederiksen, "The Etruscans in Campania," in D. & F.R. Ridgway, *Italy Before the Romans* (London 1979) 277; D. Ridgway, *The First Western Greeks* (Cambridge 1992) 107–9; E. Greco, "Pithekoussai: *emporion* o *apoikla*," *Annali di Archeologia e storia antica* 1 (1994) 11–8; J.-P. Wilson "The Nature of Greek Overseas Settlements in the Archaic Period. *Emporion* or *apoikia*?" in L.G. Mitchell & P.J. Rhodes, *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece* (London/New York 1997) 199–207.
- 4 J.Boardman, "Al-Mina and History," *OJA* 9 (1990) 186; but see A.J. Graham, "The Historical Interpretation of Al Mina," *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 12 (1986) 51–65; J.Y.

being *emporía*, but neither is called an *emporion* in any of our sources. There is in fact no occurrence of the word in any Archaic text, and the oldest attestations are in Attic inscriptions of the mid-fifth century: two boundary stones found in the Piraeus both inscribed ἐμπορίο καὶ ἡδὲ ὁρός (*IG* I³ 1101 A & B) and τοῖς ἐμπορί[οις] in a fragmentary decree presumably regulating the foundation of a colony (*IG* I³ 47 A.7). Of the authors Herodotos is the first to use *emporion*, e.g. about Naukratis (Hdt. 2.179.1), and apart from Demosthenes (see *infra* n. 24) the word occurs only infrequently in other Classical authors.

Another problematical aspect of the evidence is that the majority of the classical attestations concerns the Athenian *emporion* in the Piraeus whereas evidence of other *emporía* is scarce. With one notable exception all references in Classical inscriptions are to the *emporion* in Athens, and the earliest attestations of an *emporion* in e.g. Histiaia (*IG* XII 9 1186.29) and Miletos (*Milet* 140A.33; *I. Cret.* I viii 6.31–2) are of the third century B.C. The exception is a recently published fourth-century inscription testifying to a number of inland *emporía* in Thrace, see *infra* pages 90–1.⁵ The literary sources show the same Athenian predominance in the Classical period. Both in Demosthenes and in Strabo there are about sixty occurrences of the term, but almost all the Demosthenic passages refer to Athens, whereas Strabo mentions 48 different *emporía*.⁶ In the fourth-century *periplous* ascribed to Ps.-Skylax, on the other hand, no more than seven named sites are classified as being an *emporion* (see *infra* pages 87–9). Adding up all the Classical sources the term is used about 28 named sites only (*infra* pages 86 and 88–9), whereas over one hundred *emporía* are known from the Hellenistic and Roman sources.

The predominance of Hellenistic and Roman *emporía* can also be illustrated by a study of how the term *emporion* is used by some of the late authors who often cite their source so that their site-classification can be used retrospectively to shed light on the Archaic and Classical periods. Let me adduce two examples: Pausanias' guide includes over seven hundred references to *poleis* of which some are to former *poleis* or ruined *poleis*,⁷ but he uses the term *emporion* only twice and in both cases the reference is to Hellenistic Delos.⁸ Stephanos lists some 2940 sites as being *poleis*⁹ whereas 12 sites only are classified as an *emporion*; in 6

Perreault, "Les *emporía* grecs du Levant: mythe ou réalité?" in Bresson & Rouillard (*supra* n. 1) 62, 63–8.

5 V. Velkov & L. Domaradzka, "Kotys I (383/2–359) et l'emporion de Pistiros en Thrace," *BCH* 118 (1994) 1–15. For several improved readings and interpretations see A. Avram, "Notes sur l'inscription de l'emporion de Pistiros en Thrace" (forthcoming).

6 R. Étienne, "Les *emporía* Straboniens: inventaire, hiérarchies et mécanismes commerciaux," in Bresson & Rouillard (*supra* n. 1) 23–34, an inventory of 47 *emporía*, for no. 48 see P. Rouillard, "Les *emporía* Straboniens: fonctions et activités," in Bresson & Rouillard (*supra* n. 1) 37 with n. 8.

7 L. Rubinstein, "Pausanias as a Source for the Classical Greek *Polis*," *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 218–9.

8 Paus. 3.23.3; 8.33.2.

9 D. Whitehead, "Site-Classification and Reliability in Stephanus Byzantius," *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) 102.

cases his entry includes a source reference, and the author referred to is either Hellenistic or Roman.¹⁰

2. Two types of emporion?

After these preliminary remarks I shall address the questions: how is the term *emporion* used in the sources? and what is the relation between the concept of *emporion* and the concept of *polis*? The first distinction to be acknowledged is between (1) a community which *has* an *emporion* and (2) a community which *is* an *emporion*.

In the first case the *emporion* is an institution.¹¹ It is a harbour or a part of a harbour or lying next to a harbour;¹² it is the place to which the *emporoi* bring their goods and carry others away,¹³ which implies that it is the centre of foreign trade and distinct from the *agora* which is the centre of local trade;¹⁴ it is a clearly defined part of a *polis* usually marked by *horoi*¹⁵ and supervised by officials called *epimeletai tou emporiou* vel sim.;¹⁶ import and export duties are exacted here;¹⁷ and special rules for administration of justice operate within the *emporion*.¹⁸

In the second case the *emporion* is a settlement and not just an enclosed part of a settlement. It is a community rather than a specific institution within a community; and the traditional view has been that, in this sense, there is an essential difference or even an opposition between an *emporion* and an *apoikia* in that an *emporion* is a trading-post in contradistinction to an *apoikia* which is a *polis*.¹⁹ In the sources, however, there are several instances of a community

10 'Ακάνναι (57.7, no source); Βαρύγαια (159.17, no source); Βήσσυγα (168.5, no source); "Ελλα (268.1, Polybios); Μόσυλον (457.1, Marcianus); Νάρβων (469.10, Strabo); Νικομήδειον (475.19, Arrian); "Οννη (493.17, Marcianus); Πίστιρος (524.11, no source); Ταναίς (601.10–1, cf. 131.3, Strabo); Φαναγόρεια (657.9–10, no source); Χάραξ (688.11, no source).

11 Bresson (*supra* n. 1) 164–5: "les cités grecques possédaient d'ordinaire un port de commerce, disons d'emblée pour simplifier, un *emporion*, lieu d'échange légal et organisé qui était situé sur le territoire civique, en général tout près du centre urbain principal: de fait, bien souvent, cet *emporion* n'était autre que le port de la ville qui formait le cœur même de la *polis*."

12 Xen. An. 1.4.6; Dem. 20.31–3; Dem. 35.28, 53; Theopomp. (*FGrHist* 115) fr. 62.

13 Dem. 34.1, 28, 36–8, 42–4. Arist. Ath. Pol. 51.4.

14 SEG 26 72.19–21.

15 IG I³ 1101 A–B; Dem. 35.28.

16 ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ ἐμπορίου in Athens (SEG 26 72; Dem. 58.8–9) and in Miletos (*Milet* 140A.33); the ἐλλυμενισταὶ in Bosphoros (Dem. 34.34) are tax collectors.

17 Dem. 35.29–30.

18 *Milet* 140A.35. On the Athenian *dikai emporikai* see E.E. Cohen, *Ancient Athenian Maritime Courts* (Princeton 1973).

19 A.J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester 1964) 5; G.E.M. de Ste. Croix in his review of *Trade and Politics in the Ancient World* in *JHS* 87 (1967) 179; M.M. Austin & P. Vidal-Naquet, *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece* (London 1977) 65–8; O. Murray, *Early Greece* (2nd edn. London 1993) 107; M. Gras, "Pour une Méditerranée des *emporía*," in Bresson & Rouillard (*supra* n. 1) 104.

which is described both as an *emporion* and as a *polis*, and recently the traditional view that, as communities, *polis* and *emporion* tend to be mutually exclusive terms has been replaced by the more flexible but also more complex view that of the *emporion* in the sense of community some were trading-posts, but some were city-states.²⁰

Historians writing about foreign trade take the *emporion* to be primarily an institution of the *polis*,²¹ whereas historians studying Greek colonisation tend to think of the *emporion* as a settlement like the *polis*.²² One's first impression is that the term must cover two related but different concepts; and an inspection of the sources seems to support such an interpretation.

3. Communities which have an *emporion*

The most famous *emporion* in the first sense of the term is the Athenians' *emporion* situated along the eastern and northern shoreline of the Grand Harbour of the Piraeus.²³ The overwhelming majority of our sources concern the *emporion* in the Piraeus.²⁴ But, in addition to general references to *poleis* having an *emporion* (e.g. Arist. *Pol.* 1327a31; *Oec.* 1346a7), some other named *poleis* are attested as well as having an *emporion*, viz., Aigina (Dem. 23.211), Alexandria (Arist. *Oec.* 1352a30), Bosporos = Pantikapaion (Dem. 34.34); Byzantion (Theopomp. [*FGrHist*] fr. 62), Salamis on Cyprus (Isoc. 9.47); Korinth (Thuc. 1.13.5); Phasis (Hippoc. *Aer.* 15)²⁵ and Rhodos (Dem. 56.47). If we include early Hellenistic authors and inscriptions I can add e.g. Chalkis (Heraclides 29, *GGM* I 105); Histiaia (*JG* XII 9 1186.29) and Miletos (*I. Cret.* I viii 6.31–2). Let me quote one of the sources to illustrate this use of the term: *περὶ δὲ Βυζαντίων ... ὁ αὐτὸς φησὶ Θεόπομπος τάδε. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Βυζάντιοι καὶ διὰ τὸ δημοκρατεῖσθαι πολλὴν ἤδη χρόνον καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπ' ἐμπορίου κειμένην ἔχειν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἅπαντα περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸν λιμένα διατρίβειν ἀκόλαστοι καὶ συνουσιάζειν καὶ πίνειν εἰθισμένοι ἐπὶ τῶν καπηλείων* (Theopomp. [*FGrHist.* 115] fr. 62).

The *emporion* was a trading station for *emporoi*, and *emporoi* were first of all traders who transported their wares on board a ship and sold them abroad.²⁶ But

20 Ph. Gauthier, "De Lysias à Aristote (Ath. Pol., 51,4): le commerce du grain à Athènes et les fonctions des sitophylakes," *RHist* 59 (1981) 10–13; Bresson (*supra* n. 1) 223–5; John Hind, "The Bosporan Kingdom," in *CAH*² VI (Cambridge 1994) 476–9.

21 E.g. J. Vélissaropoulos, *Les Nauklères grecs* (Paris 1980) 29–34.

22 E.g. A. Avram, "Les cités grecques de la côte Ouest du Pont-Euxin," *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 288–316; G.R. Tsatskheladze, "Greek Penetration of the Black Sea," in G.R. Tsatskheladze & F. De Angelis (eds.), *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation* (Oxford 1994) 111–35.

23 See R. Garland, *The Piraeus* (London 1987) 83–95.

24 In addition to the inscriptions cited above I can refer to, e.g., *SEG* 26.72 (the silver law of 375/4) and to some of the speeches in the *Corpus Demosthenicum*, viz. Dem. 33.1, 5, 6; Dem. 34 *passim*; Dem. 35 *passim* and Dem. 56 *passim*.

25 On Phasis as a *polis* see G. Tsatskheladze, "Colchians, Greeks and Achaemenids in the 7th–5th Centuries B.C.: a Critical Look," *Klio* 76 (1994) 81–3.

26 S. Isager & M.H. Hansen, *Aspects of Athenian Society* (Odense 1975) 65; H. Knorrhagen,

sometimes *emporos* is used about a tradesman who carried his wares overland (Pl. *Plt.* 289E) or followed an army on campaign (Xen. *Cyr.* 6.2.38). The implication is that most *poleis* with *emporion* were situated along the coast²⁷ or on the bank of a navigable river,²⁸ whereas the examples adduced above include only one inland *polis* with an *emporion*, viz., Korinth.²⁹ Trade overland between two neighbouring Greek *poleis* seems to have taken place in a market set up in the borderland between the two communities.³⁰ All other sources we have support the view that the *emporion* of a *polis* was linked with a harbour;³¹ correspondingly there is no evidence of an *emporion* e.g. in any of the Arkadian *poleis*, and in his description of the ideal *polis* Aristotle points out that every *polis* must have an *agora* (Arist. *Pol.* 1321b12–8) whereas an *emporion* can be dispensed with by those who do not want to have it (Arist. *Pol.* 1327a31).

4. Communities which are emporia

Let us move on to settlements explicitly classified as *emporion* and not as *poleis* with an *emporion*. In this sense the term *emporion* is frequently applied to one or, usually, to an unspecified number of unnamed sites, namely: *emporion* in western Sicily (Hdt. 7.158.2; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1259a25); *emporion* belonging to the Medizing Hellenic *poleis* (Hdt. 9.106.3);³² *emporion* controlled by Olynthos (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.16); *emporion* from which Athens imported her grain (Dem. 20.31); *emporion* from which Klazomenai imported her grain (Arist. *Oec.* 1348b21); *emporion* along the Thracian coast controlled by Thasos (Thuc. 1.100.2; Ps.-Skylax 67); one such unnamed *emporion* (Dem. 50.47); *emporion* in Thrace controlled by Kotys (Arist. *Oec.* 1351a22); *emporion* in Thrace controlled by Kersobleptes (Dem. 23.110); *emporion* along the coast of Macedon (Dem. 2.16; 7.12; 19.153; 19.315); *emporion* in the Pontic region (Hdt. 4.17.1; Lys. 22.14); *emporion* controlled by Persian satraps (Arist. *Oec.* 1346a1); *emporion* in Arabia (Hdt. 3.5.2); *emporion* in Spain controlled by the Carthaginians (Ps.-Skylax 1); two unnamed *emporion* along the Illyrian coast (Ps.-Skylax 24). Let me quote two of the sources to

Emporos. Data on Trade and Trader in Greek Literature from Homer to Aristotle (Amsterdam 1926).

27 E.g. the *emporion* along the north coast of the Black Sea (Hdt. 4.17.1)

28 E.g. Naukratis (Hdt. 2.179.1).

29 Thuc. 1.13.5: οἰκοῦντες γὰρ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ αἰεὶ δὴ ποτε ἐμπόριον εἶχον, τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ παλαιὰ κατὰ γῆν τὰ πλείω ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, τῶν τε ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῶν ἔξω, διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐπιμισγόντων ... Thucydides considers trade overland to be oldfashioned and notes immediately afterwards that the Corinthians later supplemented their *emporion* κατὰ γῆν with one κατὰ θάλασσαν for seaborne trade: ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον ἔπλωζον ... ἐμπόριον παρέχοντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν δυνάτην ἔσχον χρημάτων προσόδω τὴν πόλιν. The reference must be to the harbours of Korinth at Kenchreai and Lecheion.

30 Called ἀγορὰ ἐφορτία see Drakon's homicide law (*IG I³* 104.27–8), quoted by Demosthenes at 23.37. On Pistyros, see *infra* pages 90–1.

31 K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres*. *Klio Beiheft* 14 (1923) 28–45.

32 The best MSS, however, have ἐμπόλια instead of ἐμπόρια.

illustrate this use of the term: χρόνω δὲ ὕστερον ξυνέβη Θασίους αὐτῶν (sc. the Athenians) ἀποσῆναι, διανεχθέντας περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας Θράκῃ ἐμπορίων καὶ τοῦ μετάλλου ᾧ ἐνέμοντο (Thuc. 1.100.2); ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφικόμεθα εἰς χωρίον τι ἐν τῇ ἀπαντικρὺ ἡπείρῳ, Θασίων ἐμπόριον, καὶ ἐκβάντες ἡριστοποιούμεθα, προσέρχεται μοι τῶν ναυτῶν Καλλικλῆς ... (Dem. 50.47).

Many an attempt has been made to identify some of these *emporia*. It has been suggested that the Sicilian *emporia* must be or at least include Himera and Selinous;³³ and Thucydides' reference to the Thasian *emporia* has been joined with Herodotus' mention of Thasian *poleis* along the Thracian coast which, according to Ps.-Skylax 67, must have included Phagres, Oisyme and Galepsos.³⁴ It is worth noting that in both cases the unnamed *emporia* have been identified with named settlements which in other sources are attested as *poleis*.

The identifications, however, are far from certain, and in order to get a better understanding of the *emporion* as a settlement rather than as a harbour for foreign trade we must turn to all the passages in which the term is used as a site-classification applied to a *named* community known from other sources. An inspection of the Classical authors provides us with the following list:³⁵

- Borysthenes (= Olbia: Hdt. 4.17.1; 24.1)³⁶
- Chersonesos (in the Crimea: Ps.-Skylax 68)
- Deris (Ps.-Skylax 67)
- Drys (Ps.-Skylax 67)
- Eion (Thuc. 4.102.3)
- Emporion (Ps.-Skylax 2)³⁷
- Kanobos (Arist. *Oec.* 1352a30–b3)
- Kobrys (Ps.-Skylax 67)
- Kremnoi (Hdt. 4.20.1)
- Kypasis (Ps.-Skylax 67)
- Kytoron (Ephoros [*FGrHist.* 70] fr. 185 = Strabo 12.3.10)
- Myriandros (Xen. *An.* 1.4.6)
- Naukratis (Hdt. 2.178–9; cf. Harp. s.v. *naukrarika*)
- Neapolis (a Carthaginian *emporion*: Thuc. 7.50.2)
- Pistyrus (in central Thrace: *BCH* 118 [1994] 1–15)³⁸

33 G. Maddoli, "Gelone, Sparta e la "liberazione" degli empori," in *ΑΠΤΑΡΧΑΙ. Nuove ricerche ... in onore di P.E. Arias* (Pisa 1982) 245–52.

34 Hdt. 7.109.2, see Bresson (*supra* n. 1) 201–05.

35 I list only existing *emporia* and thus omit the Chians' suspicion in ca. 545 B.C. that the Phokaians, if they had been allowed to settle in the Oinoussai, might have turned these small islands into a major *emporion* (Hdt. 1.165.1).

36 For an identification of the *emporion* Borysthenes with the *polis* Borysthenes = Olbia see section 10 *infra* pages 101–2.

37 The first attestation of Emporion is in Ps.-Skylax 2. In the MS the text is: εἴτα ἐμπόριον πόλιν. Ἑλληνίδα. ἥ ὄνομα ἐμπόριον. Of the editors Klausen (Berlin 1831) has: Εἴτα ἐμπόριον, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, ἥ ὄνομα Ἑμπόριον, whereas Müller (Paris 1855) prints: Εἴτα Ἑμπόριον (πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, ἥ ὄνομα Ἑμπόριον). If we follow Klausen Emporion is classified both as an *emporion* and as a *polis*. If we prefer Müller's interpretation we must infer from the toponym that Emporion was an *emporion*.

38 To be distinguished from the *polis* Pistyrus mentioned by Herodotos at 7.109.2. See also

Stryme (Harp. s.v.; see Philoch. [*FGrHist.* 328] fr. 43)
 Tartessos (Hdt 4.152–3; Ephoros [*FGrHist.* 70] fr. 129b)
 Theodosia (Dem. 20.33)
 Zone (Ps.-Skylax 67)³⁹

A closer scrutiny of these nineteen *emporion* reveals that (a) eleven are explicitly called a *polis* either in the same source or in another source of the Classical period, whereas (b) four are classified as *poleis* in a later source (Stephanos) who in all four cases cites a Classical source (Hekataios, Theopompos). (c) Of the four remaining *emporion* one was presumably a *polis*, in two cases we must suspend judgement, and we are left with just one attested named *emporion*, namely (d) Pistyros, for which it can be established that it was *not* a *polis*.

(a) I shall begin with the *emporion* explicitly called *polis* and treat them in descending scale of importance: Naukratis is called a *polis* by Herodotos in the very beginning of his account of the settlement (Hdt. 2.178.1) and again in an honorary decree of the fourth century (*OGIS* 120), see *infra* page 91 with note 48. Borysthene (or Olbia) is called a *polis* at Hdt. 4.79.2 and in the fourth-century coin law (*Syll.*³ 218.14–5), see *infra* pages 101–2. In the famous oath to be taken by all citizens Chersonesos is repeatedly called a *polis* both in the urban and in the political sense (*Syll.*³ 360 = *IOSPE* I² 401.3, 6, 28 30).⁴⁰ Emporion is classified by Ps.-Skylax as a πόλις Ἑλληνίς (*supra* n. 37). In the passage ascribed to Ephoros ([*FGrHist.* 70] fr. 129b) Tartessos is classified both as an *emporion* and as a *polis*. According to Herodotos, Stryme (7.107.2) and Eion (7.113.1) were two of the *poleis* passed by Xerxes' army in the spring of 480.⁴¹ The name Neapolis strongly suggests that the settlement was a *polis*. Kytoron is listed as a Greek *polis* by Ps.-Skylax in the chapter on Paphlagonia (90: Κυτωρίς πόλις Ἑλληνίς). Myriandros is described both as a *polis* inhabited by Phoenicians and as an *emporion*, and the Egyptian *emporion* Kanobos is called a *polis* at the end of the world by Aischylos (*PV* 846).

(b) In Ps.-Skylax Chapter 67 the following five Thracian settlements are listed as *emporion*: Deris, Drys, Kobrys, Kypasis and Zone. In Stephanos Drys (240.3), Zone (298.8) and Kypasis (395.11) are all three classified as *poleis*, and in all three cases Stephanos cites Hekataios as his source (*FGrHist* 1, fr. 160–62). We do not know whether he found the site-classification or just the toponym in Hekataios, but there can be no doubt that the term *polis* stems from Hekataios in fr. 159 (Maroneia) and fr. 163 (the Thracian Chersonesos), which makes it

Steph. Byz. 171.6: Βίστιρος, πόλις Θράκης, ὡς Πίστιρος τὸ ἐμπόριον compared with 524.11: Πίστιρος, ἐμπόριον Θράκης.

39 In Ps.-Skylax 102 Ἀδάνη is a widely accepted conjecture for the MS Ἀλάνη, but since Adana is otherwise unattested before the late Hellenistic period I follow e.g. Hirschfeld (*RE* I 344) in finding the conjecture questionable.

40 The inscription is early Hellenistic and not Classical, but the city-ethnic Χερσονασίτης is attested in several 4th-century sepulchral inscriptions: *CIRB* 173, 194, 195.

41 Isaac argues that Eion was a fortified *emporion* and not a *polis*: B. Isaac, *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (Leiden 1986) 61–3, but see Hansen (*infra* n. 47) 44.

plausible that it was used by Hekataios about Drys, Kypasis and Zone as well. Drys (*IG I³ 77.V.29*) and Zone (*IG I³ 77. V.27*) are both recorded in the Athenian assessment decree of 422/1. Kobrys is listed as a πόλις Θράκης by Stephanos quoting Theopompos (*FGrHist* 115, fr. 84) but in such a way that we cannot be sure whether Theopompos is his authority for the toponym only or for the site-classification as well. There is no evidence concerning Deris.⁴²

(c) The four *emporion* which are not explicitly attested as *poleis*, are Deris, Kremnoi, Pistyros, and Theodosia. On the Thracian *emporion* Deris see the preceding section. On Theodosia and Kremnoi, both in the Crimea, I have the following comments. Theodosia struck coins inscribed ΘΕΟΔΟ. Admittedly, the mint stopped in the fourth century and probably ca. 370 when Leukon conquered Theodosia and made it a part of the Bosporan Kingdom.⁴³ In the following years Theodosia was made the second *emporion* of the Bosporan Kingdom (Dem. 20.33) – the first one being Pantikapaion (Dem. 34.34), but there is no reason to doubt that it was still a (dependent) *polis*: the city-ethnic is attested in a funeral inscription of the late fourth century (*CIRB* 231); and in contemporary inscriptions Pairisades (342–09) is described as ἄρχοντος Βοσπόρου καὶ Θεοδοσίας (e.g. *Syll.*³ 214). Bosporos = Pantikapaion was certainly considered to be a *polis*⁴⁴ and the analogy with Pantikapaion combined with the attestation of the city-ethnic strongly suggests that Theodosia persisted as a dependent *polis* after it had lost its *autonomia* and was set up as an *emporion*. Kremnoi is still unlocated, but if, as has been suggested, Kremnoi was the earliest Greek name for Pantikapaion itself,⁴⁵ it was a *polis*.

(d) We are left with Pistyros which is known exclusively from an inscription found in Thrace some 200 km north-west of Maroneia and published in 1994, *supra* n. 5. The new document is a charter issued by one of the successors of King Kotys of Thrace (383/2–359). It is, in fact, a renewal of the privileges bestowed by the late Kotys on a community of Greek traders in Pistyros. As a group the traders are called ἐμπορίται, a rare word presumably used synonymously with ἔμποροι, but not quite. ἔμποροι are traders who travel from place to place. The ἐμπορίται seem to be the inhabitants of the *emporion* of whom only some were *emporoi*.⁴⁶ Pistyros is not explicitly called an ἐμπόριον, but from the term *emporitai* it seems safe to infer that the place was an *emporion*, an inference

42 See the gazetteer in B.D. Meritt, H.T. Wade-Gery & M.F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* I (Cambridge Mass. 1939) 480.

43 See Hind (*supra* n. 20) 498. Note, however, that Theodosia struck coins again in the third century B.C., see *SNG*, British Museum IX 969–71.

44 Cf. e.g. the use of the city-ethnic Βοσπορίτης in Athenian sepulchral inscriptions (*IG II² 8429, C4s*); the contemporary proxyeny decrees (*IOSPE* II 1–3), and the fourth-century coins inscribed ΠΑΝ (C.M. Kraay & M. Hirmer, *Greek Coins* [London 1966] 440–2).

45 See Hind (*supra* n. 20) 477 and in this volume page 112.

46 This observation receives some support from Hesych. ἐμπορίσαι. μέτοικοι. The form ἐμπορίσαι must be corrupt and the emendation ἐμπορίδαι (Latte) or ἐμπορίται (*LSJ* s.v.) suggests that the reference is to settlers or persons who stay for a longer period rather than to travellers. Cf. also Ἐμπορίται, the city-ethnic derived from the toponym Ἐμπόριον (Steph. Byz. 270.17 confirmed by the legend ΕΝΙΟΠΙΤΩΝ on coins of the third century B.C. (Head [*infra* n. 49] 2).

supported by Stephanos' note: Πίστιρος, ἐμπόριον Θράκης (524.11). The most important sub-groups among the *emporitai* are called Μαρωνῖται, Θάσιοι and Ἀπολλωνιῆται. The use of the city-ethnics shows that they are citizens of these three *poleis*. The *emporitai* are not referred to with an ethnic of their own derived from the toponym Πίστυρος, and the conclusion is that Pistyros was not a *polis*, not even a dependent *polis*. The Greek traders are subjects of the Thracian prince, but enjoy some privileges which are specified and guaranteed in the charter. It is also apparent from the charter that Pistyros is only one of several *emporia* and that they all have the Greek *polis* Maroneia on the coast of Thrace as their principal trading partner. We cannot preclude that authority over the *emporia* was divided between the Thracian prince and Maroneia. Apart from being traders the *emporitai* are the owners of landed property in the vicinity of the *emporion* which shows that Pistyros had a hinterland, and we learn that the *emporitai* live side by side with some indigenous Thracians who are probably referred to with the term οἰκήτορες. Pistyros is a semi-Greek and semi-barbarian settlement, and the Greek *emporoi* are middlemen in charge of the exchange of goods between the Greek colonies on the coast, principally Maroneia, and the Thracians ruled by the successor of Kotys. Finally, Pistyros is an inland *emporion* and the goods in which the *emporitai* trade are transported not in ships but in waggons.

Pistyros is an incontestable example of an *emporion* which was not a *polis*, but it is equally incontestable that almost all the other named *emporia* listed *supra* pages 88–9 were called *polis* as well as *emporion* by the Greeks of the Classical period. We must therefore address the question whether the word *polis* in such cases is used in a loose sense only or whether these *emporia* were in fact *poleis* in the full sense of the term.

In the case of Emporion, Chersonesos, Olbia and Theodosia there can be no doubt that the *emporion* was a *polis* in the political sense of the term. In some of the other cases the word *polis* is used in the sense of town rather than in the sense of state, but that does not change the overall picture since the Greeks seem to have applied the term *polis* in its urban sense, not to any random town but only to towns which were the urban centres of *poleis* in the political sense.⁴⁷ Let me exemplify by discussing the status of Naukratis.

5. The case of Naukratis

Both epigraphical and numismatic evidence shows that Naukratis was a *polis* in the fourth century. Of the relatively few inscriptions unearthed during Petrie's excavations one is an honorary decree of the late fourth century with the heading: ἡ πόλις ἡ Ναυκρατίτ[ων].⁴⁸ Furthermore a few coins inscribed NAT have been found in and around Naukratis. They are undated, but "the style is that of the fourth century B.C."⁴⁹

47 See M.H. Hansen, "ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ (Arist. *Pol.* 1276a23. The Copenhagen Inventory of *Poleis* and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*," *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 23–34.

48 W.M.F. Petrie, *Naukratis I*, 1884–5 (London 1898) 63 no. 3 = *OGIS* 120.

49 B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (2nd edn. London 1911) 845.

Let us move a century back and ask: was Naukratis already a *polis* in the fifth century? First, it is called a *polis* by Herodotos and that is in itself an important indication. Whether Herodotos' classification applies to the Archaic period will be discussed below, but there can be no doubt that it was meant to describe the settlement in Herodotos' own age. Admittedly, describing Naukratis Herodotos uses the word *polis* in its urban and not in its political sense, but like other Classical Greek authors Herodotos did not use the term of *polis* about any urban centre but only about a town which was also the centre of a *polis* in the political sense of the term. Both in Herodotos and in other authors there are so few exceptions to this rule that the presumption is that Naukratis must have been a *polis* both in the urban and in the political sense of the word.⁵⁰

Next, in the second book of his work about the sanctuary of Apollon at Gryneion, Hermeias of Methymna⁵¹ describes some rituals which took place in the *prytaneion* in Naukratis.⁵² Hermeias wrote his book in the fourth century B.C. and stresses that the rituals were old ones; the implication is that the *prytaneion* in Naukratis must go back at least to the fifth century, possibly even to the Archaic period.

Third, the city-ethnic Ναυκρατίτης is attested in a fifth-century Athenian sepulchral inscription adduced by M.M. Austin in support of the view that Naukratis must have been a *polis* in the political sense at least from the late fifth century and probably from the reign of Amasis onwards.⁵³ A. Bresson objects that the use of an *ethnikon* is not a sufficient indication of the existence of a *polis*.⁵⁴ The city-ethnics Μεμφίτης and Δαφναίτης, for example, are attested in two fifth century graffiti in the Memnonion in Abydos.⁵⁵ Here the ethnic must indicate the city where a person lives and not the community of which he is a member. By analogy the ethnic Ναυκρατίτης must indicate habitation only and not necessarily citizenship. The problem with this argument is that Bresson does not take the provenance of the sources into account. The ethnics Μεμφίτης and Δαφναίτης are attested in Egyptian graffiti, Ναυκρατίτης on the other hand is attested not only in the fifth-century sepulchral inscription, but also in a fourth-

50 Hansen (*supra* n. 47) 39–54.

51 A fourth-century author according to Jacoby (*FGrHist* 558) who, however, does not include the fragment. For the sanctuary of Apollon in Gryneion (lying on the west coast of Asia Minor not far from Lesbos) see H.W. Parke, *Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor* (Beckenham 1985) 171–6. See additional note on page 105.

52 Ath. 149D (= *FHG* II 80 fr. 2): παρὰ δὲ Ναυκρατίταις, ὥς φησιν Ἑρμείας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν περὶ τοῦ Γρυνείου Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ δειπνοῦσι γενεθλίοις Ἑστίας Πρυτανίτιδος καὶ Διονυσίοις, ἔτι δὲ τῇ τοῦ Κωμαίου Ἀπόλλωνος πανηγύρει, εἰσιόντες πάντες ἐν στολαῖς λευκαῖς, ὅς μέχρι καὶ νῦν καλοῦσι πρυτανικάς ἐσθῆτας.... It is the words μέχρι καὶ νῦν which show that the rituals must have been introduced a long time before Hermeias' description of them.

53 M.M. Austin, *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age*, *PCPS* suppl. 2 (1970) 29–33, interpreting Hdt. 2.178.

54 A. Bresson, "Rhodes, l'Hellénion et le statut de Naucratis (VI^e–IV^e siècle a.C.)," *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 6 (1980) 316–7.

55 P. Perdrizet & G. Lefebvre, *Les graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos* (Nancy 1919) nos. 614 and 536.

century Athenian proxeny decree and in a contemporary Delphic list of contributions to the re-building of the temple of Apollo.⁵⁶ The proxeny institution was closely connected with the *polis* or political communities larger than the *polis*.⁵⁷ Apart from Ναυκρατίτης the Delphic document lists 30 different city-ethnics which all designate *poleis* in the political sense. Similarly, in Attic sepulchral inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries, all ethnics derived from toponyms denoting towns seem to have been city-ethnics, i.e. ethnics used about citizens of a *polis* in the political sense.⁵⁸ Thus, if Naukratis had not been a *polis* it would be strange to find the city-ethnic *Naukratites* attested in these inscriptions.

What arguments can be produced to support the view that fifth-century Naukratis was *not* a *polis* in the political sense? As far as I can see only two and neither carries any weight. (a) If Naukratis was a settlement ruled by Pharaoh, and if the *emporion* was controlled by officials elected by the various *poleis* who had joined to set up the trading post, Naukratis can not have enjoyed *autonomia*, and (by implication) it can not have been a proper *polis*. (b) *Polis* (in the sense of political community) and *emporion* are opposed site-classifications and since Herodotos is generally believed to have been inconsistent in his use of the term *polis*, the presumption is that Naukratis was in fact an *emporion*, but not a *polis*.⁵⁹

Re (a): Naukratis was, of course, a dependency and did not enjoy *autonomia*. The settlement was ruled by the Pharaoh who could impose taxes,⁶⁰ and the *emporion* was indeed controlled by the nine *poleis* listed by Herodotos. But lack of *autonomia* did not deprive a settlement of its status as a *polis*. The Ionian *poleis*, for example, belonged to the king of Persia just as much as Naukratis belonged to the Pharaoh, and the presence of annually elected Korinthian *epidemiourgoi* did not deprive Poteidaia of its status as a *polis*.⁶¹

Re (b): an investigation of the word *polis* in Herodotos shows that he used the term much more consistently than traditionally believed,⁶² and my survey of the other communities called *emporion* in classical sources shows that *polis* and *emporion* were not necessarily opposed terms. Quite the contrary.

To conclude, I follow Austin in believing that, in the age of Herodotos, Naukratis was both a *polis* and an *emporion*: "Herodotus is making here a

56 IG II² 206 (Athenian proxeny decree of 349/8 for Θεογένης ὁ Ναυκρατίτης); IG II² 9984 (sepulchral inscription of the late 5th cent. commemorating Διονύσιος Παρμένοντο<ς> Ναυκρατίτης); CID II 4 (list of contributors 360 B.C. including: Ναυκρατίται ἐξ Αἰγύπτου [col. 1.37], Εὐτέλης Ναυκρατίτης [col. 3.21] and Τύρις Ναυκρατίτης [col. 3.24]).

57 See P.J. Rhodes, "Epigraphical Evidence: Laws and Decrees," *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 103–7.

58 M.H. Hansen, "City-ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity," *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 184–5.

59 H. Bowden, "The Greek Settlement and Sanctuaries at Naukratis: Herodotus and Archaeology," *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 29–30: "The fact that Herodotus refers to the settlement as a *polis* does not prove anything about its formal status: Herodotus may be using the word loosely, ..."

60 See the royal rescript imposing a 10% tax on all gold, silver and manufactured goods in Naukratis, issued by Nectanebo I (378–60 B.C.), quoted in A.B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II. Introduction* (Leiden 1975) 28.

61 *Epidemiourgoi* (Thuc. 1.56.1); Poteidaia a *polis* in the political sense of the term (Thuc. 1.66.1).

62 Hansen (*supra* n. 47) 39–54.

fundamental distinction between the residents in the πόλις of Naukratis and those who only came for trade but did not settle permanently in Naukratis – the latter being presumably excluded from the πόλις of Naukratis.”⁶³

Finally, was Naukratis a *polis* in the Archaic period? First, we have no reason to believe that Herodotos’ classification of Naukratis as a *polis* can be projected back to the age of Amasis. But, similarly, there is no solid support for the view that Naukratis was called an *emporion* in the period around 600 B.C. The excavations show that Naukratis from the very beginning was a settlement with important trading facilities, and with a very mixed population,⁶⁴ but whether it was considered a *polis* or an *emporion* or something else by the Greek merchants and by the Greeks who settled in Naukratis is a question on which we must honestly suspend judgement; and that brings us back to the crucial questions: when did the *emporion* as a legal institution emerge? and when was the term *emporion* coined?

6. The lack of evidence for Archaic *emporion*

Emporoi are attested already in the Homeric poems (Hom. *Od.* 2.319; 24.300), and the abstract noun *emporion* is found already in Hesiod’s *Erga* (Hes. *Op.* 646); but, as argued above, there is no evidence earlier than ca. 450 B.C. that the Greeks had developed the concept of *emporion* and applied it to trading posts such as Naukratis in Egypt. The only possible attestation of the concept of *emporion* antedating the mid fifth century B.C. is the name of the Archaic colony Emporion in northern Spain. Emporion was founded by Massalia ca. 575 B.C. Archaeological evidence supports the view that trade was an important aspect of the city’s life.⁶⁵ Accordingly, it is a plausible assumption that the settlement from the outset was called Emporion because it was an *emporion*. That seems to be the almost universally accepted explanation. But attestations of the toponym Emporion are late. It occurs for the first time in Chapter two of the fourth-century *Periplus* ascribed to Ps.-Skylax (see *supra* n. 37) and can be inferred from the legend ΕΜΠ on some fourth-century coins.⁶⁶ The next attestation is in Polybios.⁶⁷ It has been argued that the original toponym was Pyrene and that the settlement only later was called Emporion.⁶⁸ If that was so, the only possible evidence for an Archaic

63 Austin (*supra* n. 53) 30.

64 Austin (*supra* n. 53) 23–7.

65 M. Almagro, *Ampurias, guide de fouilles et du musée* (Barcelona 1967); J.-P. Morel, “L’expansion Phocéenne en Occident: dix années de recherches (1966–75),” *BCH* 99 (1975) 866–7.

66 Head (*supra* n. 49) 2, cf. *IGCH* no. 2315.

67 Polyb. 3.39.7; 3.76.1.

68 For the view that the Πυρήνη πόλις referred to by Herodotos at 2.33.3 should be placed in Spain see Lloyd (*supra* n. 60) 140–6. For the view that it was the original name of Emporion see J.G.F. Hind, “Pyrene and the Date of the Massiliote Sailing Manual,” *RivStorAnt* 2 (1972) 39–52. For another example of Emporion as an alternative name of a settlement see Alex. Polyh. (*FGrHist* 273) fr. 134: ... πόλις Ἑλληνικὴ ἔκτισται Ταναίς, ἥτις καὶ Ἐμπορίον ὀνομάζεται.

attestation of the term is gone. In any case, it is time to warn against all historians' all-too confident use of the concept of *emporion* in descriptions of the colonisation of the Archaic period. And there is a further observation which supports my warning: the earliest Greek text in which explicit site-classifications can be found is Hekataios' *Periodos Ges*. The fragments we have got show that Hekataios applied the term *polis* to a large number of settlements.⁶⁹ Alternative site-classifications sometimes occur and – as in Ps.-Skylax' *Periplous* – they include *τείχος* and *λιμήν*.⁷⁰ But no fragment indicates that a settlement was classified by Hekataios as an *ἐμπόριον*, and, as argued *supra* pages 89–90, some settlements in Thrace which are called *emporion* in Ps.-Skylax' treatise were presumably called *poleis* in Hekataios' work. That may indeed be a coincidence, but a study of the terminology used by Hekataios can only strengthen one's suspicion that *emporion* may have been a concept developed in the Classical period and not used or perhaps even unknown when Hekataios composed his treatise in ca. 500 B.C.

Following A. Baschmakoff,⁷¹ Alexandru Avram argues that the description of Thrace and Skythia found in Chapters 67–68 of the fourth-century *periplous* ascribed to Skylax stems from a very old *periplous* from ca. 500 B.C., and that the classification in Chapter 68 of Chersonesos as an *emporion* is to a Megaro-Milesian trading post of the late sixth century, which in 422/1 became a *polis* by the influx of new colonists from Delos and Herakleia.⁷² Now in Ps.-Skylax' *periplous*, *emporion* is a rare term and it is indeed worth noting that six of the seven instances in which Ps.-Skylax uses the term *emporion* about a named site come from chapters 67–8 (see *supra* pages 88–9). Thus, it seems reasonable to suggest with Avram that these chapters stem from a single source; and I will not deny that Avram *may* be right in dating this source to ca. 500 B.C. But the absence of the word *emporion* from all known Archaic sources compared with the frequent use of it in Ps.-Skylax 67–68 should be a warning, and it seems to me to be dangerous to date the supposed source of Ps.-Skylax 67–68 to a period some 50 years before the first attestation of the term *emporion*. Moreover, at least Chapter 67 was either written or revised in the fourth century as is apparent from the mention of Daton founded by Kallistratos of Aphidna in 360 B.C. If we maintain that the original version of the chapter goes back to ca. 500 B.C. we have to suppose that the revision was so superficial that several serious anachronisms were allowed to stand, which, I admit, is not impossible.

So much for the word *emporion* and the concept behind it. But what about the institution denoted by the term? Again, the evidence is so tenuous that a warning must be issued against the prevailing habit of speaking of *emporion* in the Archaic period as something to be found all over the Greek world from the Pontic region to the Pillars of Hercules.

69 Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1) frs. 43, 48, 67a, 73, 88, 106, 113a, 116, 129, 131, 134, 141, 146, 148, 159, 163, 204, 217, 221, 229, 266, 282, 287, 293.

70 *λιμήν*: fr. 343; *τείχος*: fr. 299; *ἱερόν*: fr. 319.

71 A. Baschmakoff, *La synthèse des périple pontiques* (Paris 1948) 22–9.

72 Avram (*supra* n. 22) 290 with n. 9.

Naukratis as described by Herodotos is the only example we have got of an Archaic trading station forming a separate part of a community and with its own officials. Compared with Classical *emporion* it was very peculiar in having the officials in charge of the trading post appointed by foreign *poleis* and not by the citizens of Naukratis themselves. All other evidence of an *emporion* as "a specifically demarcated port of a *polis* for the purpose of foreign trade" is Classical, and, apart from Pistyros, all evidence of an *emporion* as a separate settlement to be distinguished from a *polis* is Hellenistic or Roman.⁷³

I find it relevant in this context to compare the concept of *emporion* with the concept of *agora*. Every *polis* had an *agora*,⁷⁴ which in Archaic and early Classical towns was just an open square marked off with *horoi*.⁷⁵ In the Homeric poems and in some archaic poets the *agora* is described as the place where the people had the sessions of the assembly.⁷⁶ In the Classical period almost all traces of the *agora* as an assembly place have vanished⁷⁷ and the *agora* was now primarily the market place.⁷⁸ Conversely, the earliest evidence we have of the economic functions of the *agora* is a reference in the Gortynian law of ca. 480–60 B.C. to the *agora* as the place where a slave has been bought.⁷⁹ I think that we must seriously consider the possibility that the concentration of local trade in the *agora* and of long distance trade in the *emporion* was a phenomenon to be dated in the late Archaic and early Classical periods and to be connected with the development of the institutions of the *polis*.

7. The *emporion* as an institution and as a dependent polis

To sum up, most of the settlements which in Classical sources are described as *emporion* are in fact *poleis* which had an *emporion*. The distinction between a

73 See e.g. the thirty-seven *emporion* listed in the *Periplus Maris Erythrei*, P. Counillon, "L'*emporion* des géographes grecs," in Bresson & Rouillard (*supra* n. 1) 56–7; L. Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Princeton 1989). Strabo 16.4.23: (Gallus) ἦκεν εἰς Λεύκην κώμην τῆς Ναβαταίων γῆς, ἐμπόριον μέγα, ...

74 Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 46.10; Arist. *Pol.* 1321b12–7.

75 Ar. *Ach* 719; *IG* I³ 1087–90.

76 E.g. Hom. *Od.* 2.6–257; 8.4–45; Xenophanes fr. 3.3. K. Raaflaub, "Homer to Solon. The Rise of the *Polis*. The Written Sources," *CPCActs* 1 (1993) 54–5.

77 M.H. Hansen & T. Fischer-Hansen, "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*. Evidence and Historical Significance," *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) 45–6.

78 Hdt. 1.153; Heraclides (*GGM* I page 105) 28; Ar. *Eq.* 1009; *Eccl.* 819; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 51.3; Arist. *Pol.* 1278a25–6 (Thebes); 1321b12; Dem. 21.22; 57.30–1; Hdt. 3.43.2; Lys. 1.8; Pl. *Com.* fr. 190; Pl. *Apol.* 17.C; *Resp.* 371B–D; Theophr. *Char.* 6.10; 22.7; Thuc. 3.72–4; Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.17; *I.Cret* IV 72 col. 7.10–1 (Gortyn, C5f); *Syll.*³ 354.6 (Ephesos, ca. 300 B.C.); *IG* XII 9 189.33 (Eretria, C4s); *I.Priene* 81.6 (Priene, ca. 200 B.C.); *I.Magnesia* 98.62 (Magnesia, ca. 200 B.C.).

79 *I.Cret* IV 72 col 7.10–1. See R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora grecque* (Paris 1951) 283–7; J.K. Davies, "Greece after the Persian Wars," *CAH*² V (1992) 25.

community which has an *emporion* and one which is an *emporion* is fading away and sometimes seems to vanish, but not quite. First, in *poleis* such as Athens, Korinth and Byzantion the *emporion* was a part of the *polis*, undoubtedly an important one, but nevertheless just one piece of a complicated puzzle. In the case of the settlements identified as *emporia* the centre for international trade may have been the paramount feature of the settlement, where the majority of the citizens worked and from which the *polis* got almost all its revenue. Second, all the sites classified as *emporia* are colonial settlements and centres of trade between Greeks and barbarians. Third, most of the unnamed *emporia* are described as belonging to or controlled by e.g. the Thasians, the Olynthians, the Thracian king Kotys or a Persian satrap, and most of the named sites attested both as *emporia* and as *poleis* are also known to have been dependencies, e.g. of the Pharaoh or the King of Bosporos. Thus, a site classified as both a *polis* and an *emporion* seems to be a dependent *polis* and not an *autonomos polis* such as Athens or Korinth or Aigina. Furthermore it seems to have been a specific type of dependent *polis*, namely one in which the port was the dominant part of the settlement. Finally, there were *emporia* which were dependencies without being *poleis*. Pistyros is the oldest example of this form of *emporion*. Apart from Thucydides' reference to Korinth it is also the only explicit attestation we have got of an inland *emporion* whose trade was conducted over land instead of by sea.⁸⁰

These considerations indicate that, after all, there was an "objective" difference, not only between a *polis* which had an *emporion* (e.g. Aigina) and an *emporion* which was not a *polis* (e.g. Pistyros), but also between an *autonomos polis* (e.g. Aigina) and an *emporion-polis* (e.g. Olbia). But our sources testify to a "subjective" distinction as well. Even when the *emporion* was not the paramount feature of a *polis* described as having an *emporion*, it may have been the aspect of *polis* life which an author wanted to emphasise. In such cases the choice between classifying a settlement as a *polis* having an *emporion* or as being an *emporion* does not depend on some objective criterion but on the context in which the classification is brought. To illustrate this phenomenon it will suffice, I think, to note that even Athens can be classified as an *emporion* if it suits the context; see for example the following passage from Demosthenes' speech against Dionysodoros: Διονυσόδωρος γὰρ οὕτως, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ὁ κοινὸν αὐτοῦ Παρμενίσκος προσελθόντες ἡμῖν πέρυσιν τοῦ μεταγεινιῶνος μηνὸς ἔλεγον ὅτι βούλονται δανείσασθαι ἐπὶ τῇ νήϊ, ἐφ' ᾧ τε πλεῦσαι εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου εἰς Ῥόδον ἢ εἰς Ἀθήνας, διομολογησάμενοι τοὺς τόκους εἰς ἑκάτερον τῶν ἐμπορίων τούτων. Ἀποκριναμένων δ' ἡμῶν, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δανείσαιμεν εἰς ἕτερον ἐμπόριον οὐδὲν ἄλλ' εἰς Ἀθήνας, οὕτω ὁμολογοῦσι πλεῦσεσθαι δεῦρο ...⁸¹ An analysis of this passage isolated from all other sources combined with the traditional view that *polis* and *emporion* were different types of settlement would lead to the conclusion that Athens was an *emporion*

80 The only other explicit reference to inland *emporia* is in Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 7 20: ἐκ τῶν παραθαλαττίων καὶ μεσογείων ἐμπορίων.

81 Dem. 56.5-6.

and *not* a *polis*. Similarly, the Piraeus is called an *emporion* by Isokrates⁸² although the *emporion* was only a small but important part of that town.

To conclude: in the Classical period an *emporion* was primarily that part of a *polis* which was set off for foreign trade and placed in or next to the harbour; but if the port was the most important part of the *polis*, or if it suited the context, then the whole settlement could be classified as an *emporion*. On the other hand, the new inscription from Thrace has provided us with one unquestionable example of the Classical period of a settlement which was an *emporion* without being also a part of a *polis* or a dependent *polis*; all other examples are either Hellenistic or Roman.

8. Trading stations versus agricultural colonies

So far the written sources have been in focus, and archaeological evidence has been adduced to shed light on the texts. What happens if the archaeological evidence is put first and surveyed independently of the texts? Studying the actual remains of ancient colonial sites, historians distinguish between two different types of settlement, plus, of course, a whole range of mixed forms between the two extremes: on the one hand we find urban centres with a fairly large hinterland and populated by colonists whose principal occupation was agriculture. On the other hand we have some examples of small nucleated settlements without any hinterland whose population seems to have lived by trade and especially the exchange of goods between Greeks and barbarians. The first type includes settlements such as Metapontion and other colonies in Sicily and Magna Graecia.⁸³ Examples of the second type are Histria and Berezan in the Pontic area.⁸⁴ Colonies might, of course, combine the two functions as has often been suggested in connection with Selinous.⁸⁵

As said above, there has been a tendency to describe the agricultural colonies as *apoikiai* and the trading-stations as *emporia* and to hold that the *apoikiai* were organised as *poleis* whereas the *emporia* were *not poleis* (*supra* pages 85–6 with n. 19). On the other hand it has often been argued that several of the Greek colonies were founded as *emporia* which later developed into *poleis*.⁸⁶

82 Isoc. 4.42. See Gauthier (*supra* n. 20) 11.

83 J.C. Carter, "Taking Possession of the Land: Early Colonization in Southern Italy," in R. Scott & A.R. Scott (eds.), *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Post-Classical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown* (Washington 1995) 343–67; *idem*, "Agricultural Settlements," in G.P. Carratelli (ed.), *The Western Greeks* (Venice 1996) 361–8.

84 Tsatskheladze (*supra* n. 21) 117–8.

85 *Pro*: R. Martin, "Histoire de Sélinonte d'après les fouilles récentes," *CRAI* (1977) 55. *Contra*: J. de la Genière, "Réflexions sur Sélinonte et l'ouest sicilien," *CRAI* (1977) 251–64.

86 Writing about the Phokaian settlements in Spain and France, Morel (*supra* n. 65) says: "Une solution de conciliation parfois retenue consiste à conjecturer pour tel ou tel site l'établissement d'un *emporion* au VI^e siècle, suivi de la fondation ultérieure (V^e ou IV^e siècle) d'une véritable colonie, due à une nouvelle vague d'expansion, dont il faut bien dire

But what is the evidence that the *emporion* were not *poleis*? Let us distinguish between different types of trading station. In Al Mina the remains have been interpreted to show that the Greek merchants were visitors who did not settle down and form a community,⁸⁷ whereas there can be no doubt that Pithekoussai was a Greek settlement.⁸⁸ Obviously Al Mina cannot have been a *polis* and was probably not even an *emporion*, but what prevents us from believing that Pithekoussai and other similar settlements were *poleis*? True, these trading stations did not possess a *chora*. But having a hinterland is not a necessary condition for being a *polis*. One example is Tarrha on Crete.⁸⁹ Conversely, Pistyros is an example of an *emporion* which was not a *polis* but had a hinterland.⁹⁰ The important question is not whether the nucleated settlement possessed a hinterland, but whether the settlement formed a community with a developed form of self-government practised by a ruling class of citizens (*politai*). One view has been that Pithekoussai was a precolonial *emporion*, whereas Kyme was the first colonial *polis* in the west.⁹¹ But the Greek community on Pithekoussai may have numbered as many as 5,000–10,000 inhabitants and they may have formed a self-governing community which was perhaps even independent of other communities.⁹² Admittedly, no traces have been found of public architecture *vel sim.* but the only form of public architecture to be expected in an Archaic settlement is sanctuaries, whereas in most Archaic *poleis* the political institutions have left no architectural traces for us to study.⁹³

There can be no doubt that the archaeological remains testify to an important distinction between agricultural colonies and trading-stations, often without a hinterland. But there is no basis for combining this distinction with a distinction between *apoikiai* which were *poleis* and *emporion* which were not *poleis*. Our written sources for the *emporion* are all of the Classical period or later and they show that, essentially, the *emporion* was not a settlement, but an institution inside

les causes et le mécanisme nous échappent totalement." Interpreting Ps.-Skylax 68: Χερρόνησος ἐμπόριον, Avram (*supra* n. 21) 289 suggests a similar solution.

87 Perreault (*supra* n. 4) 62–8, 79–82.

88 Ridgway (*supra* n. 3) 45–120.

89 O. Rackham, "Ancient Landscapes," in O. Murray & S. Price (eds.), *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* (Oxford 1990) 108–9: "Tarrha, although a place of some note, was spectacularly lacking in a hinterland. Immediately behind the town rise cliffs upon cliffs to a height of 2400 meters, plunging into a deep and harbourless sea. Apart from meagre gravel terraces within the gorge itself, there is no possibility of cultivation."

90 BCH 118 (1994) page 2 lines 10–12.

91 Pithekoussai an *emporion*: D. Ridgway, "Relations between Cyprus and the West in the Precolonial Period," in Carratelli (*supra* n. 83) 117; Kyme the first colonial *polis*: G.P. Carratelli, "An Outline of the Political History of the Greeks in the West," *ibidem* 145.

92 Pithekoussai is called a *polis* by Ps.-Skylax 10. That is certainly wrong for the author's own period, i.e. the fourth century B.C.; but it is a moot point whether it is wrong for the Archaic period. Greco (*supra* n. 3) 16 is tempted – with some reservations – to define Pithekoussai as a "*polis autonoma*." For the number of inhabitants see R. Osborne, *Greece in the Making 1200–479 BC* (London 1996) 114.

93 Hansen & Fischer-Hansen (*supra* n. 77) 23–90.

a settlement which from the political point of view was usually a *polis*, sometimes an *autonomos polis* (as in Athens, Aigina, Byzantion etc), sometimes a dependent *polis* (as in the case of Bosporos taking over Theodosia, and the *emporion* controlled by Olynthos or Thasos etc.). Pistyros is an example of an *emporion* which was probably a Greek institution inside an otherwise barbarian settlement. And that is indeed what is suggested by Herodotos' account of Naukratis combined with what we know about the place from other sources.

Alternatively, *emporion* may have been a well known concept by the end of the seventh century B.C. when Naukratis was established as the centre of trade between Greeks and Egyptians. And both Naukratis, Pithekoussai and Berezan may originally have been *emporion* which later developed into *poleis*. But the evidence supporting this model is virtually non-existent.⁹⁴ And one may just as well presume that the early trading stations were *poleis* without a *chora* (Pithekoussai?), and *poleis* depending on a major *polis*, typically its *metropolis* (Emporion [Pyrene?] in Spain). That was the situation in the Classical period, and it may have been how things were in the Archaic period as well. In any case, there is no evidence of *emporion* and *polis* being used as mutually exclusive terms until we reach the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

9. The port of an inland city as an *emporion* and as a *polis*

In most *poleis* the *emporion* was undoubtedly a part of the town itself and situated either in the harbour or close to it. But large inland *poleis* often had a harbour on the coast some miles removed from the urban centre. In such cases the harbour could develop into a port and become a separate urban centre detached from the inland *polis*, and an *emporion* would be placed in the port near the harbour. The obvious example is Athens whose *emporion* was in the Piraeus; and the Piraeus is in fact called an *emporion*, at least once (Isoc. 4.42, see *supra* page 98 with n. 82). But there are many other instances of a large port connected with an inland *polis*: Naulochos was the port of Priene; Notion was the port of Kolophon, and Skandeia was the port of Kythera. Although we have no specific information the presumption is that Priene, Kolophon and Kythera each had an *emporion* placed in, respectively, Naulochos, Notion and Skandeia. And these ports were not just harbours with, probably, an *emporion*; they had developed into urban settlements and are attested as *poleis*. They were, of course, dependencies, each dominated by an inland *polis*;

94 See J.G.F. Hind, "Colonies and Ports of Trade on the Northern Shores of the Black Sea – The Cases of Olbiopolis and Kremnoi in Herodotus," *Thracia Pontica* II (Jambol 1985) 109: "It should be stressed that there is not a hint whatever in Herodotus, or in any other source, that an *emporion* is a stage in the colonisation process leading up to a full colony (*apoikia*). On the contrary, the *emporion* mentioned by Herodotus seem to be cities which have developed into large-scale trading places, or have important trading quarters within them." – The article is republished in this volume pages 107–16 and the quote, with different wording, is on page 111.

but they had the characteristics of a *polis* and were explicitly classified as *poleis*.⁹⁵ Let me here review the particularly good evidence we have for Notion and its relation to Kolophon.⁹⁶

According to Aristotle, Notion and Kolophon were two parts of one *polis*, but they are adduced in the fifth book of the *Politics* as an example of how the shape and nature of the territory (*chora*) can make it difficult to keep a *polis* united and result in *stasis*;⁹⁷ and other sources show that Notion had developed into a (dependent) *polis*. Notion may have been classified as a *polis* by Hekataios,⁹⁸ the Νοτιεῖς are repeatedly recorded in the Athenian tribute lists,⁹⁹ and the city-ethnic is still attested in fourth century sources.¹⁰⁰ According to Thucydides Notion belonged to Kolophon,¹⁰¹ but it had its own *theorodokos* to host the *theoroi* who announced the Heraia at Argos,¹⁰² and only towards the end of the fourth century did Notion enter into a *sympoliteia* with Kolophon.¹⁰³

The cases of Notion, Naulochos¹⁰⁴ and Skandeia¹⁰⁵ seem to corroborate the evidence we have for settlements explicitly called *emporion*: that a harbour physically separated from the town it served could develop into an urban settlement and become a (dependent) *polis*.

10. Borysthene and Olbia

Βορυσθένης was the name both of the *emporion* (Hdt. 4.24.1) and of the *polis* (Hdt. 4.78.5). Similarly, Herodotos refers to τὸ Βορυσθενεϊτέων ἐμπόριον (Hdt. 4.17.1) and to ἡ Βορυσθενεϊτέων πόλις (Hdt. 4.79.2) = τὸ Βορυσθενεϊτέων ἄστυ (Hdt. 4.78.3), cf. Βορυσθενεῖται κατοικηγται (Hdt. 4.53.6). The city had its name from the river Βορυσθένης (Hdt. 4.53). For a *polis* being named after the nearby river cf. e.g. Istros (Ps.-Skylax 68 [the river]; Arist. *Pol.* 1305b5 [the *polis*]) and Gela (Thuc. 6.4.3). That Borysthene was identical with Olbia is apparent from Hdt. 4.18.1: 'Ολβιοπολίτας, and from the coin law *Syll.*³ 218.1: [εἰς Βο]ρυσσθένη εἰσπλεῖν and 15–6: τὸ ἀργύριον τὸ 'Ολβιοπολιτικόν combined with the reference in lines 9–10 to the stone ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησιασ[τηρίῳ]. Dittenberger (*ad loc.*) may be right in assuming that the reference in line 1 is to

95 M.H. Hansen, "Boiotian *Poleis* – A Test Case," *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 43–4.

96 The evidence has been collected by L. Rubinstein who is responsible for *Ionia* in the *Polis Centre's* inventory of *poleis*. See also M. Piérart, "Deux notes sur la politique d'Athènes en mer Égée (428–425)," *BCH* 108 (1984) 168–71.

97 Arist. *Pol.* 1303b7–10.

98 Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1) fr. 233.

99 *IG* I³ 270.I.8; 272.I.24–5; 280.I.39; 283.III.23. 285.I.95 has Νότιον.

100 *IG* II² 1.48–9; Arist. *Pol.* 1303b10.

101 Thuc. 3.34.1–4.

102 *SEG* 23 189 col. 2.7, ca. 330 B.C.

103 L. Robert, *Opera Minora* II (Amsterdam 1969) 1244–5.

104 *Theorodokos* to host *theoroi* from Argos (*SEG* 23.189 col. 2.10); mint in the fourth century B.C. (Head [*supra* n. 49] 587).

105 Thuc. 4.53.2–54.4.

the *emporion* rather than to the *polis*, but the *ekklesiasterion* must have been situated in the *polis*, i.e. in Olbia. From this evidence one would conclude that the *emporion* must have been a part of the *polis* itself. Olbia was situated on the estuary of the river Hypanis; it had a harbour which is now under water and the *emporion* may have been situated here.¹⁰⁶ Admittedly, the earliest objects recovered from the lower part of the town are Classical (information provided by G. Tsetskhladze), but that does not conflict with an identification of lower Olbia with the Classical *emporion*.

An alternative view is to identify the *emporion* Borysthene with the remains found on the small island Berezan, once a peninsula, in the estuary of Borysthene (Dnieper) some 38 km west of Olbia.¹⁰⁷ The archaeological evidence indicates that the Milesians came to Berezan ca. 645 B.C., whereas Olbia was founded ca. 550 B.C. or a little earlier. I follow Tsetskhladze in believing that Berezan was the first Milesian settlement in the area, that it probably was a trading post without a *chora*, and that later it lay within Olbia's *chora* and was a dependency of Olbia (Tsetskhladze [*supra* n. 22] 117, 119). But the evidence we have does not support an identification of Berezan in the Archaic period with the Classical *emporion* (and *polis*) Borysthene known from Herodotus and from the fourth-century coin law.¹⁰⁸

11. Conclusions

Emporion is one of the terms which has found favour with modern historians although it is not much used in the sources and the oldest attestations are in Attic inscriptions of the mid-fifth century. Moreover, the majority of the Classical attestations in literature and almost all the attestations in inscriptions concern the Athenian *emporion* in the Piraeus. Apart from that the literary sources provide us with information about twenty-six named *emporia*, and one recently published fourth-century inscription testifies to one named and some unnamed inland *emporia* in Thrace.

This paper addresses two questions: how is the term *emporion* used in the sources? and what is the relation between the concept of *emporion* and the concept of *polis*? The first distinction to be acknowledged is between (1) a community which *has* an *emporion* and (2) a community which *is* an *emporion*. In the first case the *emporion* is an institution. It is the centre of foreign trade and distinct from the *agora* which is the centre of local trade; it is a clearly defined

106 See Hind (*supra* n. 94) 109. *Idem*, "Traders and Ports-of-Trade (*Emporoi* and *Emporia*) in the Black Sea in Antiquity," forthcoming in *Il Mar Nero* 2; J.G. Vinogradov and S.D. Kryzickij, *Olbia* (Leiden 1995) 33.

107 J. Vinogradov, *Olbia. Geschichte einer altgriechischen Stadt am Schwarzen Meer*. Xenia 1 (Konstanz 1981) 18ff. followed by Tsetskhladze (*supra* n. 22) 117 with n. 19; Vinogradov & Kryzickij (*supra* n. 106) 129 *et alibi*.

108 I should like to thank Alexandru Avram, John Hind and Gocha Tsetskhladze for many valuable comments on a draft of this article.

part of a *polis* usually marked by *horoi* and supervised by special officials; import and export duties are exacted here; and special rules for administration of justice operate within the *emporion*.

In the second case the *emporion* is a community rather than a specific institution within a community; and the traditional view has been that, in this sense, there is an essential difference or even an opposition between an *emporion* and an *apoikia* in that an *emporion* is a trading-post in contradistinction to an *apoikia* which is a *polis*. In the sources, however, there are several instances of a community which is described both as an *emporion* and as a *polis*, the most famous example is the Athenian *emporion*, but the following eight *poleis* are also attested as having an *emporion*: Aigina, Alexandria, Bosporos (= Pantikapaion), Byzantion, Salamis on Cyprus, Korinth, Phasis and Rhodos.

Apart from a number of references to unnamed *emporia*, the Classical sources provide us with the names of nineteen settlements which are described as being *emporia*: Borysthenes, Chersonesos (in the Crimea), Deris, Drys, Eion, Emporion, Kanobos, Kobrys, Kremnoi, Kypasis, Kytoron, Myriandros, Naukratis, Neapolis (a Carthaginian *emporion*), Pistyros (in central Thrace), Stryme, Tartessos, Theodosia, Zone. Of these nineteen *emporia* eleven are explicitly called a *polis* either in the same source or in another source of the Classical period, four are classified as *poleis* in a later source citing a Classical source. Of the four remaining *emporia* one was presumably a *polis*, in two cases we must suspend judgement, and we are left with just one attested named *emporion*, namely Pistyros, for which it can be established that it was *not* a *polis*.

There is no evidence earlier than ca. 450 B.C. that the Greeks had developed the concept of *emporion* and applied it to trading posts such as Naukratis in Egypt. The only possible attestation of the concept of *emporion* antedating the mid fifth century B.C. is the name of the Archaic colony Emporion in northern Spain. But attestations of the toponym Emporion are late, and it is time to warn against all historians' confident use of the concept of *emporion* in descriptions of the colonisation of the Archaic period. Naukratis has extensive Archaic remains but is not classified as an *emporion* before Herodotos, ca. 450–30 B.C. It is the only example we have got of an Archaic trading station forming a separate part of a community with its own officials. All other evidence of an *emporion* as "a specifically demarcated port of a *polis* for the purpose of foreign trade" is Classical, and, apart from Pistyros, all evidence of an *emporion* as a separate settlement to be distinguished from a *polis* is Hellenistic or Roman.

A comparison of the concept of *emporion* with the concept of *agora* shows that every *polis* had an *agora*. In Archaic poets the *agora* is described as the place where the people had the sessions of the assembly. In the Classical period almost all traces of the *agora* as an assembly place have vanished, and the *agora* was now primarily the market place. Conversely, the earliest evidence we have of the economic functions of the *agora* is a reference in the Gortynian law of ca. 480–60 B.C. We must seriously consider the possibility that the concentration of local trade in the *agora* and of long distance trade in the *emporion* was a phenomenon to be dated in the late Archaic and early Classical periods and to be connected with the development of the institutions of the *polis*.

Thus, most *emporia* are in fact *poleis* which had an *emporion*. The distinction between a community which has an *emporion* and one which is an *emporion* seems to vanish, but not quite. First, in *poleis* such as Athens, Korinth and Byzantion the *emporion* was not the whole *polis* but only a part of the *polis*. In the case of the settlements identified as *emporia* the centre for international trade may have been the paramount feature of the settlement, where the majority of the citizens worked and from which the *polis* got almost all its revenue. Second, all the sites classified as being *emporia* are colonial settlements and centres of trade between Greeks and barbarians. Third, most of the unnamed *emporia* are described as belonging to or controlled by e.g. the Thasians, the Olynthians, the Thracian king Kotys or a Persian satrap, and most of the named sites attested both as *emporia* and as *poleis* are also known to have been dependencies, e.g. of the Pharaoh or the King of Bosphoros. Thus, a site classified as both a *polis* and an *emporion* seems to be a dependent *polis* and not an *autonomos polis* such as Athens or Korinth or Aigina. Furthermore it seems to have been a specific type of dependent *polis*, namely one in which the port was the dominant part of the settlement. Finally, there were *emporia* which were dependencies without being *poleis*. Pistyros is the oldest example of this form of *emporion*.

These considerations indicate that, after all, there was an "objective" difference, not only between a *polis* which had an *emporion* (e.g. Aigina) and an *emporion* which was not a *polis* (e.g. Pistyros), but also between an *autonomos polis* with an *emporion* (e.g. Aigina) and an *emporion-polis* (e.g. Olbia). But our sources testify to a "subjective" distinction as well. Even when the *emporion* was *not* the paramount feature of a *polis* described as *having* an *emporion*, it may have been the aspect of *polis* life which an author wanted to emphasise, and even Athens can be classified as an *emporion* if it suits the context.

Studying the actual remains of ancient colonial sites historians distinguish between two different types of settlement, plus mixed forms between the two extremes: on the one hand we find urban centres with a fairly large hinterland and populated by colonists whose principal occupation was agriculture (e.g. Metapontion). On the other hand we have some examples of small nucleated settlements without any hinterland whose population seems to have lived by trade and especially the exchange of goods between Greeks and barbarians (E.g. Histria and Berezan). There has been a tendency to describe the agricultural colonies as *apoikiai* and the trading-stations as *emporia* and to hold that the *apoikiai* were organised as *poleis* whereas the *emporia* were *not poleis*. On the other hand it has often been argued that several of the Greek colonies were founded as *emporia* which later developed into *poleis*. These trading stations did not possess a *chora*. But having a hinterland is not a necessary condition for being a *polis*. One example is Tarrha on Crete. Conversely, Pistyros is an example of an *emporion* which was not a *polis* but had a hinterland. The important question is not whether the nucleated settlement possessed a hinterland, but whether the settlement formed a community with a developed form of self-government practised by a ruling class of citizens (*politai*).

There can be no doubt that the archaeological remains testify to an important distinction between agricultural colonies and trading-stations, often without a hinterland. But there is no basis for combining this distinction with a distinction between *apoikiai* which were *poleis* and *emporion* which were not *poleis*. Our written sources for the *emporion* are all of the Classical period or later and they show that, essentially, the *emporion* was not a settlement, but an institution inside a settlement which from the political point of view was usually a *polis*, sometimes an *autonomos polis* (as in Athens, Aigina, Byzantion etc), sometimes a dependent *polis* (as in the case of Bosporos taking over Theodosia, and the *emporion* controlled by Olynthos or Thasos etc.). Pistyros is an example of an *emporion* which was probably a Greek institution inside an otherwise barbarian settlement. And that is indeed what is suggested by Herodotos' account of Naukratis combined with what we know about the place from other sources.

In most *poleis* the *emporion* was undoubtedly a part of the town itself and situated either in the harbour or close to it. But large inland *poleis* often had a harbour on the coast some miles removed from the urban centre. In such cases the harbour could develop into a port and become a separate urban centre detached from the inland *polis*, and an *emporion* would be placed in the port near the harbour: Naulochos was the port of Priene; Notion was the port of Kolophon, and Skandeia was the port of Kythera. Although we have no specific information the presumption is that Priene, Kolophon and Kythera each had an *emporion* placed in, respectively, Naulochos, Notion and Skandeia. And these ports had developed into urban settlements and are attested as *poleis*. They were, of course, dependencies, each dominated by an inland *polis*; but they had the characteristics of a *polis* and were explicitly classified as *poleis*.

Mogens Herman Hansen
The Copenhagen Polis Centre

Additional note on the Hermeias quoted by Athenaios at 149D-E, see supra n. 51. Athenaios states that the treatise on Apollon Gryneios was by a certain Hermeias, but does not record any patronymic or ethnic. In other parts of his work he quotes Hermeias of Methymna (438C), Hermeias of Kourion (563D-E), and Hermeias of Samos, the son of Hermodoros (606C). Hermeias of Methymna was a historian of the first half of the fourth century B.C. (Diod. 15.37.3); Hermeias of Kourion (on Kypros) was an iambic poet of the third century B.C. (*The Oxford Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* I p. 164); Hermeias of Samos, the son of Hermodoros, was possibly the author of an *erotikos logos* and lived ca. 200 B.C. (*ibidem*). Unless the reference is to an otherwise unknown person, the Hermeias quoted at Ath. 149D-E must be identified with one of the three authors listed above. The other Greek authors named Hermeias can be ruled out since they are all later than Athenaios, see *Canon of Greek Authors and Works* (3rd edn. 1990) 193-4.

The historian is *a priori* a more likely candidate than the iambic poet and the rhetorician (?) and furthermore, Gryneion was situated in Aiolis on the coast of Asia Minor just south of Lesbos. Thus the author of the treatise on Apollon Gryneios, who refers to the *prytaneion* in Naukratis, was probably Hermeias of Methymna who lived in the first half of the fourth century B.C.

COLONIES AND PORTS-OF-TRADE ON THE NORTHERN SHORES OF THE BLACK SEA: BORYSTHENES, KREMNOI AND THE "OTHER PONTIC EMPORIA" IN HERODOTOS

by

JOHN HIND

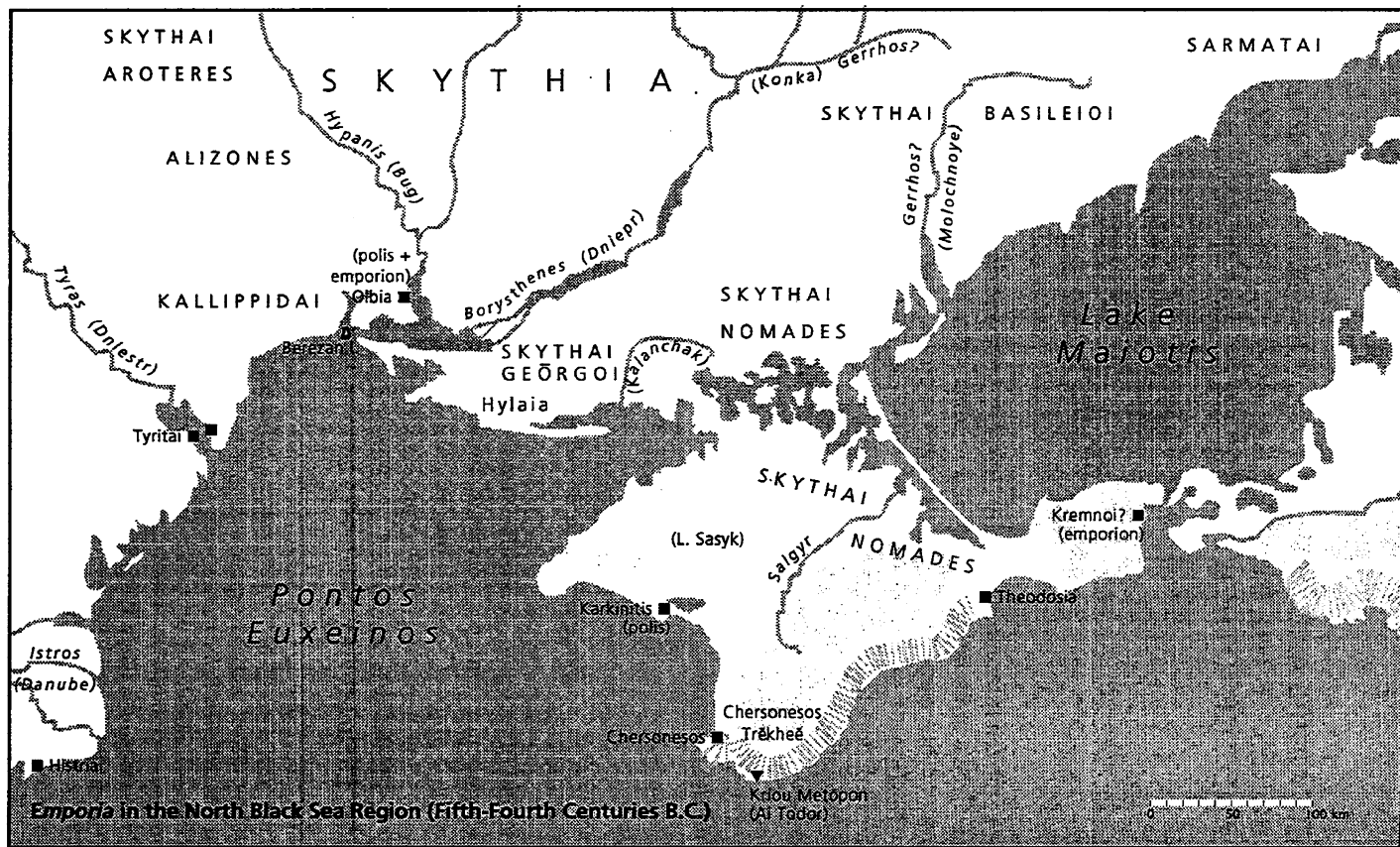
Among the ten references made by Herodotos to *emporía* (ports-of-trade), situated in the Greek homeland and colonial regions, four are to be found in the Pontic section of his Book 4. These passages merit a close look, since the precise identification of one *emporion*, and even the general location of another, are matters of debate or despair. The other two *emporía* are so vaguely, indeed anonymously, mentioned by Herodotos that their identity can be only tentatively suggested. The references in question are to *Borystheneiteōn emporion* (4.17.1); *Kremnoi emporion* (4.20.1); *Kremnoi* (4.110.2); "other *emporía*", apart from Borysthenes (4.24); unnamed "*emporía*, from which Greeks went inland to settle among the *Boudinoi*" (4.108.2).

1. Borystheneiteōn emporion.

Berezan Island or Olbia (modern Parutino?)

The island of Berezan, probably formerly a promontory, in the greater estuary of the Borysthenes (Dnieper) River, is situated 38 km west of the later city of Olbia.¹ That city is some 15 km up the western side of the lesser estuary of the River Hypanis (Southern Bug).² Ever since a Greek settlement of the late seventh and sixth centuries was excavated on Berezan at the end of the last century by Prendel, Pharmakovskiy, Skadovsky and von Stern,³ there has been some debate

- 1 J.G. Vinogradov & J. Domanskij & K. Marchenko, "Sources écrites et archéologiques du Pont Nord-Ouest," in P. Lévêque (ed.), *Le Pont-Euxin vu par les Grecs* (Besançon – Paris 1990) 122–8; J.G. Vinogradov & S. Kryžickij, *Olbia – Eine altgriechische Stadt im nordwestlichen Schwarzeerraum* (Leiden 1995) 12–68; *AJA* 97 (1993) 538–40; *AR* 30 (1983–4) 78–80; *AR* 39 (1992–3) 92–4; K.S. Gorbunova, *Drevniye Greki na Ostrovye Berezan* (Leningrad 1969); V.V. Lapin, *Grecheskaya Kolonizatsia Severnogo Prichernomor'ya* (Kiev 1966) 86–148.
- 2 Vinogradov & Kryžickij (*supra* n. 1); A. Wasowicz, *Olbia Pontique et son territoire* (Paris 1975); J.G. Vinogradov, *Politicheskaya Istoria Olviiskogo Polisa VII-I vyekov do n.e.* (Moscow 1989).
- 3 S.I. Kaposhina, "On the History of the Greek Colonisation of the Lower Bug Region," in *Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR* 50 (Moscow – Leningrad 1955) 211–39 (in Russian); Lapin (*supra* n. 1) 108–18, with plan of the *necropolis* at 111–12.



whether Herodotos, in speaking of the *emporion*, refers to Berezan or Olbia, or more generally to the "market" provided by the natural riches of the Dnieper estuary area. If Papadimitriou, Zhebelyov and Nudelman argued that the *emporion* mentioned by Herodotos was Berezan,⁴ then Latyshev long ago, and Karyshkovsky more recently, have insisted that it was at Olbia.⁵ Lapin's view that it was the general market of the area⁶ seems to founder on the fact that Herodotos refers to the *emporion* as a place from which to give distances and directions. Lastly Vinogradov in 1976 produced an idiosyncratic interpretation of Herodotos' meaning in which he drew a distinction between *Borystheneiteōn emporion* (4.17.1) meaning Berezan, and *Borysthenes emporion* (4.24) referring to Olbia.⁷ The present paper is a revised and expanded version of one previously published⁸ and, it is hoped, will point the way back to the solution favoured by Latyshev and Karyshkovsky, i.e., that for Herodotos the *emporion* of the Borysthenites and *Borysthenes* lay at Olbia and at Olbia alone.

The basis of the argument was laid effectively by Karyshkovsky in 1967, who showed that the "town" (*asty*) and the "city" (*polis*) of the Borysthenites, mentioned by Herodotos at 4.78–9, was one and the same, and that it must be the site of Olbia at Parutino. This much was accepted by Vinogradov. Also accepted by him is the view that the *emporion Borysthenes* was at Olbia, the estuary site on the mainland. There, as Herodotos says (4.24), one could learn about the *Argippaioi* living far inland along a route known to the Scythians throughout its length (this information being available from Borysthenes and from the other Pontic *emporion*). There seems to be no dispute about the identification thus far. When, however, Herodotos discusses the joint estuaries of the two rivers (4.53.5–6), Vinogradov diverges from Karyshkovsky and attempts to show that Berezan island might be the centre of calculation for Herodotos' measurements of distance for the extent of tribal territories, equally as well as Olbia. Considerable amounts of Herodotos' text are quoted to this effect, but the crucial sentence is left merely referred to: *πέρην δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑπάνι Βορυσθενεῖται κατοίκηνται* (4.53.6), "over against the temple (of Demeter on Hippoleos promontory) dwell Borysthenites on the River Hypanis." These must be the Borysthenites (citizens, mentioned

- 4 S. Papadimitriou, "Ancient References to the Island of Berezan," *Zapiski Odesskogo Obschestva Istorii i Drevnostei* 27 (1910) *Protokoly* 102ff.; S.A. Zhebelyov, "What Is One to Understand by Borysthenes IOSPE I2.24", *Severnoye Prichernomor'ye* (Moscow – Leningrad 1953) 291–8; D.I. Nudelman, "Ancient Authors on Berezan," *Trudy Istoricheskogo Fakulteta Odesskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta* 1 (1939) 39; *Uchoniye Zapiski Moskovskogo Pedagogicheskogo Instituta* 37.3 (1946) 24ff. (all in Russian).
- 5 V.V. Latyshev, *Issledovaniye Ob Istorii i Gosudarstvennom Stroye Goroda Olvii* (St. Petersburg 1887) 35; P.A. Karyshkovsky, "Notes on Olbia and Berezan 4: The emporion Borystheneiteōn and Berezan," *Kratkiye Soobschenia Odesskogo Gosudarstvennogo Arkheologicheskogo Muzeya* 11 (1967) 85ff. (in Russian).
- 6 Lapin (*supra* n. 1) 150–1.
- 7 J.G. Vinogradov, "On the Political Unity of Berezan and Olbia," *Khudozhestvennaya Kultura i Arkheologia Antichnogo Mira* (Moscow 1976) 75–84 (in Russian).
- 8 J.G.F. Hind, "Olbiopolis and Kremnoi in Herodotus," *Thracia Pontica* II 1982 (Iambol 1985) 105–18.

repeatedly later at 4.78–9), and indeed the geographical location has already been spelled out for us at 4.18.1: "Ἕλληνες οἱ οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑπάνι ποταμῷ καλέουσι Βορυσθενεῖτας, σφέας δὲ αὐτοὺς Ὀλβιοπολίτας," "the Greeks who live on the Hypanis river call them (sc. the *Skythai Georgoi*, dwelling on the Borysthenes) Borysthenites, but refer to themselves as *Olbiopolitai*". Yet again the location is Olbia; here, however, some confusion is sown in that the local Greeks called the *Skythai* on the Dnieper *Borystheneitai*, while they were themselves so called by other Greeks (as we have seen, 4.78–9). This type of nomenclature, of the citizens after the major river on which the city lay, was quite standard, as we can see from the references to *Tyritai* (4.51), and to an *Istrienē* (4.78.1) – "men of Tyras (the river)"; "woman from Istria on the Ister".

At this point we can go back to the first mention in Herodotos' text of the *Borystheneiteōn emporion* at 4.17.1, and to the main point of contention between Karyshkovsky and Vinogradov. The latter interprets this passage as referring to Berezan and not to Olbia:

ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθενεῖτέων ἐμπορίου (τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν παραθαλασσίων μεσαίτατόν ἐστι πάσης τῆς Σκυθίας) ἀπὸ τούτου πρῶτοι Καλλιπιδῆαι νέμονται ἐόντες "Ἕλληνες Σκύθαι.

"From the *emporion* of the Borysthenites (this is the most central of the coastal points of all Scythia) from here first dwell the *Kallippidai*, who are *Hellenoskythai* ...".

In the first place the terms *Borysthenes Emporion* and *Borystheneiteōn emporion* (4.17.1, 24) are so close in form and in their position in the text as to create a presumption that they are the same place. From the one is given the list of tribes up the Bug, Dnieper and beyond; to the other comes back information about the *Argippaioi*, who live at the end of a chain of seven languages and seven nations (4.20–24). A sort of ring-composition has taken us from, and back to, the same place, *Borysthenes emporion*, which is Olbia.

The next point of Vinogradov concerns the relative geographical positions of Berezan and Olbia. Knowing in detail the lie of the estuaries of the two rivers (Borysthenes, and within it that of the Bug) he is reluctant to concede that Olbia might be considered "coastal". But it is in fact, being a mere 15 km up the western shore of the liman of the Bug. Secondly, knowing of Berezan's early importance in the sixth century, he is too ready to assume its "central" geographical and trading importance on into the fifth. Indeed it lay just within the greater liman of the Borysthenes almost 40 km west of Olbia, but it had dramatically dropped in importance before 450. But for Herodotos, writing for Greeks of the homeland, these niceties are likely to have been of little account. Olbia/Borysthenes was sufficiently coastal (actually so, on a salt-water estuary), and might well have taken its name from the larger river, Borysthenes (4.53.1). It also served as the starting point of calculation of the sides of "Square Scythia" (4.101.2), for it was reckoned to be the mid-point of the southern side (Istria – Borysthenes – Lake Maeotis). Again this macro-geographical setting surely suggests that the contemporary major colony at Olbia was the fixed point at the start of the

reckoning of tribes inland. Therefore, the conclusion is that all Herodotos' references to *Borystheneítai* are to the inhabitants of Olbia *polis*, and his mention of the *emporion* applies to its trading activities, perhaps to the section of the lower city, which is now largely under-water. The only exception would be where he explains that the *Olbiopolitai* themselves refer to the tribe further up the major river Borysthenes as the *Borystheneítai* proper. Like the city (*polis*; *asty*), the wall, gates, tower and suburb, so also the *emporion Borystheneíteôn* (no less at 4.17.1 than at 4.24) should be seen to be an aspect of, possibly even a physical part of, Olbia/Olbiopolis, and an important part of the economy of both city and region.

The role of Berezan island (former peninsula) in all this was probably that it was the initial settlement of the Milesians in the estuary, the first tentative *apoikia* founded some time in the late seventh century and continuing throughout the sixth century and into the fifth even after the site at Olbia was occupied from the first half of the sixth century.⁹ By the time at which Herodotos was writing (ca. 440) Berezan was weakly occupied, and it cannot have been the flourishing *emporion* he had in mind. But it might be the reason for the naming of the *polis* Borysthenes and not Hypanis, for it lay at the entrance to the estuary of the greater river. In general it should be noted that there is no hint whatever in Herodotos that any *emporion* formed a (transitory) stage in the colonisation process leading up to the full colony (*apoikia*). On the contrary the *emporion* mentioned by him seem to be settlements which had developed a large-scale trading activity or had important trading-quarters within them.

2. Kremnoi

The second *emporion* mentioned by Herodotos (4.20.1, 110.2) is Kremnoi, "the Crags", a purely Greek, descriptive, topographical, name. The site is totally unknown, and has been sought within very wide geographical limits, mainly on the western shore of Lake Maeotis, at Eskrikrym somewhat inland (Westberg), at Genichesk (Minns), at Nogaisk nearer the Don delta (Neumann and Kiepert),¹⁰ at

9 L.V. Kopeikina, "The Characteristics of the Settlement of the Island of Berezan in the Archaic Period", *SovArch* 1981.1, 192–208; Y.V. Domansky, J.G. Vinogradov & S.L. Solovyov, "Results of the Archaeological Excavations Carried Out by the Berezan Expedition," *Itogi Archeologicheskikh Ekspeditsii Gosudarstvennogo Hermitagea* (Leningrad 1989) 35–66 (in Russian); S.L. Solovyov, "Archaic Berezan – a Historical Archaeological Essay," in G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *The Greek Colonization of the Black Sea: Historical Interpretation of Archaeology*, *Historia Einzelschrift* (in press); S.L. Solovyov, "The Archaeological Excavation of the Berezan Settlement 1987–91: Finds and Results," *Oxford Committee for Archaeology* (in press); S.L. Solovyov, "Berezan," *Colloquia Pontica* IV (Oxbow) (in press); Y.G. Vinogradov, "On the History of Olbia in Archaic Times," *SovArch* (1971) 237 (in Russian); L.V. Kopeikina, "Some Results of the Researches at Olbia in the Archaic Period," *Khudozhestvennaya Kultura i Arkheologia Antichnogo Mira* (Moscow 1976) 131–42 (in Russian).

10 A. Westberg, "Zur Topographie des Herodot," *Klio* 4 (1904) 183; W.W. How & J. Wells,

or near Taganrog (but against this, Brashinsky); another site pointed to is at Stanitsa Botievo at the mouth of the River Korsak (Boltryuk and Fialko): here the authors have found several rows of Scythian tumuli, a supposedly silted-up harbour, and local coastal cliffs.¹¹ Most recently Maslennikov has suggested that Kremnoi was at the mouth of the River Molochnoye.¹² However, as with all these suggested sites no settlement of the sixth to fourth centuries has been found. What is required for Kremnoi is a place of comparable importance to *emporion Borysthenes* in this eastern part of the range of the Royal Scythians, and probably one as visible in physical remains.

Herodotos refers to *emporion Kremnoi* as follows:

κατήκουσι δὲ οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρὸς μεσαμβρίην ἐς τὴν Ταυρικὴν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἡῶ ἐπὶ τε τάφρον, τὴν δὴ οἱ ἐκ τῶν τυφλῶν γενόμενοι ὠρυξαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος τὸ ἐμπόριον τὸ καλέεται Κρημνοί. τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν κατήκουσι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Τάναϊν (4.20.1).

"They (the Royal Scythians) extend to the south into *Taurikē*, and again to the east to the ditch which the sons of the blind slaves dug, and on the Lake Maeotis to the *emporion* which is called Kremnoi; and some of them extend to the River Tanaïs".

Already at 4.3.2 he has told us "they (sc. the children of the blind slaves) cut off the land, digging a broad ditch stretching from the Tauric Mountains to Lake Maeotis where it is greatest". Probably what is intended here is the dyke running from Mount Opuk on the Black Sea northwards to the eastern side of Kazantip Bay on Lake Maeotis (Uzunlyarsk Dyke) at a distance of some 30 km from the Straits of Kerch.

At this point, I wish to bring forward a different suggestion for *emporion Kremnoi*: that it was on the site of the later Pantikapaion town itself (Kerch). Pantikapaion is known to have been the name of the city in the fourth century; it probably was so by the second half of the fifth century, as the silver coinage shows.¹³ Another name also exists on fifth century coinage, Apol(onia), perhaps

Commentary on Herodotus (Oxford 1928) ad 4.110; E.H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks in South Russia* (Cambridge 1913) 21, 52 n. 2. Earlier Rawlinson and Shuckburgh in their editions of Herodotus (s.v. 4.110) placed Kremnoi at Marianpol. Blakesley in his edition of 1854 put it at Taganrock (sic! – s.v. 4.20); K. Neumann, *Die Hellenen in Skythenlande* (Berlin 1855) 541; C. Müller (ed.) *Ptolemaei Geographia* II 5.4, 417–18.

11 The arguments *pro* and *con* in respect of Taganrog are given by D.B. Shelov, *Tanais i Nizhny Don v III–I vyekakh do n.e.* (Moscow 1970) 45ff.; J.B. Brashinsky, *Grechesky Import na Nizhnem Donu* (Leningrad 1980) 4. The latter's main point is that no contemporary native settlements seem to have existed with which the temporary inhabitants at Taganrog might have traded. For Berdansk and the River Korsak see J. Boltryuk & E. Fialko, in *Skiphy Severnogo Prichernomor'ya* (Kiev 1987) 40–8 (in Russian) and *Rossiiskaya Arkheologia* 1994.3, 140–56 (in Russian).

12 A.A. Maslennikov, "Ancient Greeks on the Crimean Coast," *VDI* 1995.2, 79–81 (in Russian).

13 D.B. Shelov, *The Coinage of the Bosphorus VI–I Centuries B.C.*, BAR International Series 46 (1978) 19–32; V.A. Anokhin, *Monety Bospora* (Kiev 1986) 9–30; N.A. Frolova, "The Coinage of the Bosphorus mid VI–V Centuries B.C.," *Rossiiskaya Arkheologia* 2 (1996) 34–69 (in Russian).

celebrating the tutelary god and his temple.¹⁴ But before the mid-fifth century we have no knowledge of its name, which may well have been changed with the coming of the Spartokid dynasty in 438.¹⁵ In fact Kremnoi would be an excellent description of the crag-like mountains overlooking Kerch harbour – Mount Mithridates, Yŭz Oba, Altyn Oba, Sugarloaf.¹⁶

This site continued to be the great *emporion* for goods coming up from the Black Sea from the fourth century and on into the late Hellenistic and Roman periods (Strabo 7.4.5, App. *Mith.* 107). It has long been known from archaeological finds to have been important from the sixth and through the fifth and fourth centuries.¹⁷ Therefore, if Kremnoi was Herodotos' name for Pantikapaion, then the old problem of why he does not mention the latter settlement, important as it already was, is resolved by the surprising conclusion that he did so. One need not resort to the idea that he passed over it in silence through political bias.¹⁸

Probably the main reason why Kremnoi has not previously been identified as Pantikapaion is the fact that Herodotos places it on Lake Maeotis, while it is well known that Pantikapaion/Kerch is on the Kimmerian Bosporos, these being two supposedly distinct geographical areas. In fact Herodotos mentions Kimmerian names and topography around Kerch several times (4.11–12, 28, 45, 100), among which are the "Kimmerian Walls", "Narrows", "Land", and "Bosporos". These places were, he says, once in Kimmeria, but the land is now Scythia; some people indeed thought of the Kimmerian narrows, the Lake Maeotis and River Tanais as being the division between Europe and Asia. In none of these passages is Kremnoi mentioned, nor is the ditch of the sons of the blind slaves, even though some mention of a Greek settlement in the area might have been expected. However, the mention of the Kimmerian toponyms is somewhat antiquarian in nature, and concerned with the origins of the Kimmerians. By contrast Kremnoi is treated as a contemporary port-of-trade, and mentioned only in connection with the Scythian territory in which it lay (4.20.1, 110.2).

Several centuries later Strabo repeatedly referred to the Bosporos, e.g. "the mouth of Lake Maeotis is called the Kimmerian Bosporos" (Strabo 7.3.18, 4.3,

14 J.G. Vinogradov, "Die historische Entwicklung der Poleis des nördlichen Schwarzmeergebietes im 5. Jh. v. Chr." *Chiron* 10 (1980) 69ff.; V.P. Tolstikov, "Towards the Problem of the Formation of the Bosporan State," *VDI* 1989.3, 26–48 (in Russian).

15 Diod. 12.31.1.

16 At 169 m. Mount Mithridates is the highest point in the E. Crimea, F.V. Shelov-Kovyedyayev, *Istoria Bospora v VI-V vyekakh do n.e., Drevneishnye Gosudarstva na Territorii SSSR* (Moscow, Nauka 1985) 26–7, 29–31.

17 V.D. Blavatsky, *Pantikapei* (Moscow 1964) 24ff.; N.A. Sidorova, "Archaic Pottery from Pantikapaion," *Materialy i Issledovania po Arkheologii SSSR* 103 (1962) 94–108; N.A. Sidorova, *Soobschenia Gosudarstvennogo Muzea Izbrazitelnykh Iskusstv Imeni Pushkina* 4 (Moscow 1968) 110–18; G. Koshelenko & V. Kuznetsov, "La colonisation grecque du Bosphore Cimmérien," in Lévêque (ed.) (*supra* n. 1) 67–84; V.P. Tolstikov, "Pantikapaion, Capital of the Bosporus," in G. Koshelenko (ed.), *Ocherki po Arkheologii i Istorii Bospora* (Moscow 1992) 59–78 (in Russian).

18 T.V. Blavatskaya, *Ocherki Politicheskoi Istorii Bospora v V–IV vyekakh do n.e* (Moscow 1959) 60–3.

4.5). One striking passage mentions the crossing over the ice at the mouth of Maeotis (cf. Hdt. 4.28, "the whole Kimmerian Bosporos freezes over"). I would suggest that Herodotos is also referring loosely to the Bosporos in 4.20.1, when saying that Kremnoi was on Lake Maeotis. He may himself have been rather unclear where the Lake and its mouth, the Bosporos, merged, for we presumably have to reckon here, unlike in the case of Olbia, with second-hand reports, and not a personal visit.

The second passage in Herodotos which refers to Kremnoi is, on the face of it, mythological, but none the less striking for that:

ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐξέκοψαν τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐφέροντο κατὰ κύμα καὶ ἄνεμον. καὶ ἀπικνέονται τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαίητιδος ἐπὶ Κρημνούς. οἱ δὲ Κρημνοὶ εἰσι γῆς τῆς Σκυθέων τῶν ἐλευθέρων (4.110.3).

"But when they (the Amazons) had butchered their menfolk they were carried away on the waves and the wind, and they made land at Kremnoi on the Lake Maeotis. Kremnoi is in the land of the Free Scythians".

The voyage made here is almost the same as that described as existing in his own time, from *Sindikē* to Themiskyra (home of the Amazons in legend) on the River Thermodon, across the broadest part of the Black Sea (4.86.3). This is then a crossing known in actuality, even though legendary ladies are here credited with making it. Herodotos has the Amazons arrive at Kremnoi without first negotiating the Kimmerian Bosporos. On the normal location of Kremnoi on the western shore of the Sea of Azov (Lake Maeotis) this is impossible. But if Kremnoi were at the future Pantikapaion, then their landing would indeed be possible directly after a Black Sea crossing. They would have supposedly disembarked at the approaches to the Bosporos, and at a point before Kerch Bay curves round to the Kimmerian Porthmeia ("Narrows").

One further passage supports this identification of Pantikapaion with Kremnoi. At 4.101.2 Herodotos calculates the southern side of Scythia as a ten-day journey from the Ister to the Borysthenes, and a further ten days from the Borysthenes to the Lake Maeotis. Now the mention of the first two rivers clearly refers to their mouths (estuary or delta), and, what is more, there were Greek cities at each one (Istria, Olbia). It seems highly likely that the reference to Lake Maeotis also is to its mouth (the Bosporos), i.e., its S.E. corner approaching along the coast, rather than its whole extent. Compare the usage of "mouth of Lake Maeotis" for "Bosporos" by Strabo mentioned earlier. There is more than a hint that Kremnoi, in Herodotos' scheme, lay at the angle of the nearest coastal side of Square Scythia "on the Lake Maeotis", as he has put it (4.20.1). Pantikapaion would form the eastern corner of that side with the side reaching inland for 20 days up the western shore of the Lake Maeotis.

In summary, it seems to me best to take Herodotos' Kremnoi to be the well-known and well-attested *emporion* for the Maeotis mouth (Bosporos) area, in the land of the *Skythai*. Pantikapaion indeed was a city which celebrated an Amazon connection with the repeated representation of Amazon battles, and of Amazons

with horses, on the numerous class of Red-Figure "Kerch Vases".¹⁹ It is situated under and around cliffs; it is enclosed on the Kerch Peninsula by the dyke dug by the sons of the blind slaves (the Uzunlyarsk dyke?), and it lies in an area (the Eastern Kerch Peninsula) favoured by Scythian chieftains for burials and expeditions across the straits into *Sindike*.²⁰ This seems better than to suppose that an important *emporion*, comparable with Olbia on the River Borysthenes, has totally disappeared from the several locations suggested on the north-western shore of Lake Maeotis. Only one weak suggestion is to be found in a later ancient writer of such a location (Ptol. *Geog.* III. 5.4 [ed. C. Müller 417–8]), where a Κνήμη or Κρήμνοι is found. But this may be an attempt to locate Herodotos' Kremnoi from a knowledge of his text only. With Minns, we may be sceptical of the usefulness of Ptolemy on this coast.²¹

3. Unspecified emporia

The other two references in Herodotos may be dealt with briefly, for they both mention other unspecified *emporion*. At 4.24 "Greeks from the Borysthenes *emporion* and from the other Pontic *emporion*" are mentioned, and at 4.108 "Greeks" from unnamed *emporion* who "went inland to settle at Gelōnos among the Boudinoi".²² Clearly one of the unnamed *emporion* is likely to be Kremnoi. The reference at 4.24 may suggest that there was at least one other. The *Hellenes Tyrítai* (4.51) at the mouth of the Tyras were probably the possessors of one such *emporion*, for Ps.-Skymnos in the early-first century says that *emporoi* developed fisheries at the mouth of the River Dniester (vv. 796–800). Perhaps Karkinitis was another, though Herodotos does not label it as such, calling it a *polis* (4.55, 99.2). However, as it lay near the mouth of the River Hypakiris, which flowed through the midst of the *Skythai Nomades*, and was on the coast between the Hylaia and the mountainous land of the *Tauroi*, it may be that it too had facilities for *emporoi* and that it is a mere chance choice of words that Herodotos omits to

19 K. Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen* (Berlin 1930); M.M. Kobylina, "Late Bosporan Pelikai," *Materialy i Issledovania po Arkheologii SSR* 19 (1951) 136–70 (in Russian); V.D. Blavatsky, *Istoria Antichnoi Raspisnoi Keramiki* (Moscow 1953) 271–3.

20 Hdt. 4.28. Early Scythian burials have been found at Temir Gora, Philatovka in the Crimea and at Tsukur in Taman. For the Scythian route, see M.Y. Vakhtina, Y.A. Vinogradov & Y.Y. Rogov, *VDI* 1980.4, 155–60 (in Russian). For Temir Gora, see L.V. Kopeikina, *VDI* 1972.1, 156; *SovArch* 1972.3. For Philatovka, see V.N. Korpusova, *VDI* 1980.4, 100–4. For Tsukur Liman, see E.O. Prusjevskaya, *Izvestia Arkheologicheskoi Komisii* (St. Petersburg 1917) 39–44 (all in Russian).

21 Minns (*supra* n. 10) 11. See also my comments in "The Bosporan Kingdom," *CAH*² VI (1994) 477–9.

22 For Byelskoye, on the River Vorskla north of the middle Dniepr, as the probable Gelonos, see B.N. Shramko, *Arkheologicheskiye Otkrytia* (Moscow) 1982, 344–5; 1983, 375–6; 1984, 332–3; 1985, 439–40; T.V. Blavatskaya, *SovArch* 1986.4, 22–34 (in Russian); R. Rolle, *The World of the Scythians* (London 1989) 117–19. P.D. Liberov, by contrast, placed the Gelonoi on the west bank side of the Don, see his "On the Question of the Gelonoi of Herodotus," *Istoria i Kultura Antichnogo Mira* (Moscow 1977) 100–4.

mention it. The other *emporion* which certainly existed by the fourth century on the Crimean coast, but which may not yet have been developed by the time of Herodotos' Black Sea journey, were at Chersonesos (Ps.-Skylax 68),²³ and at Theodosia (Dem. 20.33).²⁴ They were probably the fruit of the activities of Herakleia Pontikē and of Leukon of Bosporos in the first half of the fourth century.

I have argued for a simpler solution of the problem of the location of *Borysthenes emporion* and of *Borystheneitēôn emporion* than the one that is currently accepted, and I have attempted to find a new and hitherto unlooked-for location for *Kremnoi emporion*, both being major ports-of-trade in Herodotos' time.²⁵ In a more general sense the relationship which has been thought to have existed between *emporion* and *polis* is not that which emerges from a reading of Herodotos. Clearly *emporion* was not synonymous with *polis*; it was a resort for *emporoi*/merchants engaged in inter-regional trade. But some *poleis* developed such a trading orientation that they could loosely be termed *emporion*, as though that were their whole character. The way in which Herodotos deals with the Pontic *emporion*, contemporary with his own travels, makes it clear that they were not embryo-*poleis* nor an early stage on the way to being true colonies (*apoikiai*).²⁶

John Hind
School of History
University of Leeds

- 23 V.I. Katz, "Emporion Chersonesus," *Antichny Mir i Arkheologia* 7 (1990) 97–111 (in Russian); J.G.F. Hind, "Megarian Colonisation in the Western Half of the Black Sea (Sister and Daughter-Colonies of Heraclea)", in Tsetskhladze (ed.) (*supra* n. 9); S.Y. Saprykin, "The Foundation of Tauric Chersonese", in Tsetskhladze (ed.) (*supra* n. 9).
- 24 D.B. Shelov, "The Rise of Theodosia," *Numismaticheskyy Sbornik, Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Istoricheskogo Muzeia* 26 (Moscow) (1957) 19–26 (in Russian); F.V. Shelov-Kovyedyayev, "Die Eroberung Theodosias durch die Spartokiden," *Klio* 68 (1986) 369–76.
- 25 For the somewhat similar (107 around Olbia; 84 on Taman and 18 around Pantikapaion) grouping of ancient settlements of the Archaic and Classical periods around the two areas, Berezan/Olbia, and E. Kerch/W. Taman (Bosporos), see K.K. Marchenko, "The Pattern of Greek Colonisation in the Lower Bug Region," *VDI* 1980.1, 131–43; S.D. Kryzhitsky, S.B. Buisikh & A.V. Burakov & V.M. Otreshko, *Selskaya Okruga Olvii* (Kiev 1989) 12–22 (in Russian); M.M. Yevliev, "Natural Conditions Governing the Activities of the Population of the Lower Bug Area," *Arkheologia* 4 (Kiev) (1992) 4–16; O.O. Maslennikov, "The Evolution of the Agricultural Territory of the European Side of the Bosporus," *Arkheologia* 2 (Kiev) (1992) 69ff. (in Ukrainian); A.P. Abramov & Y.M. Paromov, "Early Settlements of the Ancient Period on the Taman Peninsula," *Bosporsky Sbornik* 2 (1993) 25–98 (in Russian).
- 26 For recent studies of the *emporion* and its character and role, see J. Velissaropoulos, "Le monde de l'emporion," *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 1977.3, 61–85; A. Bresson & P. Rouillard (eds.), *L'emporion* (Paris 1993); J.G.F. Hind, "Traders and Ports-of-Trade (*emporoi* and *emporion*) in the Black Sea in Antiquity," *Il Mar Nero* 2 (1996) 113–26; H. Bowden, "The Greek Settlement and Sanctuaries at Naukratis: Herodotus and Archaeology," *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 17–37; M.H. Hansen, *Emporion. A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, in this volume 83–105.

SOME PROBLEMS IN *POLIS* IDENTIFICATION IN THE CHALKIDIC PENINSULA

by

PERNILLE FLENSTED-JENSEN

Were there one, two, or even three *poleis* called Apollonia in the Chalkidic peninsula? Were the Skapsaians, known from the Athenian tribute lists, really the inhabitants of a town called Kampsa? And can the Archaic coins inscribed ΣΚΙΘ(ΑΙΟ)Ν be attributed to a town called Kithas? These may seem quibbling questions, but for the Copenhagen Polis Centre, concerned with, among other things, the exact number of *poleis* in a given region, they are of great interest. And since the discussion of these questions touches on matters of historiographical character they may also have a more general interest. Therefore I will in the following consider these three cases which illustrate a number of problems that arise when we are dealing with little known places and difficult source material.

*I. Apollonia again: a note on Xenophon Hellenika 5.3.1–2*¹

In a recent article M.B. Hatzopoulos discusses whether in antiquity there were one, two, or even three *poleis* named Apollonia in the Chalkidic peninsula.² It seems appropriate to add some further comments to Hatzopoulos' conclusions.

After having scrutinized literary, archaeological, numismatic, and epigraphical evidence Hatzopoulos concludes (rightly, I think) that there "existed only one Apollonia, the one by Lake Bolbe" in the Chalkidic peninsula.³ In this, he agrees with "that indefatigable collector of Apollonias, Stephanus of Byzantium, who locates twenty-five of them", but does not "know more than one in the Chalcidic peninsula",⁴ but he disagrees with N.G.L. Hammond, who wants to maintain the

- 1 On the 13th of March 1996 I presented the problem discussed in this section of the article at the Department of Classics at the University of Copenhagen as an illustration of the problems one has to solve when dealing with ancient geography and historiography. The audience was very attentive and offered some new solutions to the problem. I would like to give especial thanks to Johnny Christensen, Mogens Herman Hansen and Thomas Heine Nielsen. – For a map of the Chalkidic peninsula, see below p. 128.
- 2 M.B. Hatzopoulos, "Apollonia Hellenis," in I. Worthington (ed.), *Ventures into Greek History* (Oxford 1994) 159–88.
- 3 Hatzopoulos (*supra* n. 2) 177.
- 4 A.B. West, "Notes on the Multiplication of Cities in Ancient Geography," *CP* 18 (1923) 55:

view (held, e.g., by himself and Griffith,⁵ and Vokotopoulou⁶) that there were two.⁷ It has even been suggested that there were three Apollonias in the Chalkidic peninsula.⁸

Of the many sources that mention Apollonia Demosthenes (9.26), Arrian (*Anab.* 1.12.7) and Strabo (7 fr. 21e) are rather imprecise as to the exact location of it.⁹ The only thing that can be gleaned from those three passages is that it must have been located somewhere in the Chalkidic peninsula (Arr., Strabo), or at least in Thrace (Dem.). A number of sources locates it close to the shore of lake Bolbe (that is, about 35 km north of Olynthos). The earliest of those is Ps.-Skylax (66),¹⁰ but there are also Hegesandros (*ap.* Ath. 334e), Livius (45.28–9), Plinius (*HN* 4.38),¹¹ the *Acts of the Apostles* (17.1) and Ptolemaios (*Geog.* 3.12.13).¹² Furthermore, the images on the coins of Apollonia clearly connect the city with lake Bolbe.¹³ Finally, Hatzopoulos adds the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* (*IG* IV².1 94.Ib.10–16) as evidence for Apollonia's location near lake Bolbe, but that rests on the assumption that one of the *poleis* in the list, Kalindoia, is out of place, so that the present sequence of towns – Poteidaia, Kalindoia, Olynthos, Apollonia, Arethousa – should be: Poteidaia, Olynthos, Kalindoia, Apollonia, Arethousa.¹⁴ Only one source, namely Xenophon, seems to dissociate Apollonia from lake Bolbe, since a combination of Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.11, 5.3.1–2, and 5.3.6 apparently gives the result that Apollonia was an important town, located ca. 16 km (90 stadia) north of Olynthos.¹⁵ The passage that gives this distance runs as follows:

“Αμα δὲ τῷ ἤρι ὑποφαινομένῳ οἱ μὲν Ὀλύνθιοι ἰππεῖς ὄντες ὡς ἑξακόσιοι κατεδεδραμήκεσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἅμα μεσημβρία καὶ διεσπαρμένοι

5 N.G.L. Hammond & G.T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia*, vol. 2 (Oxford 1979) 368.

6 I. Vokotopoulou, “The Holomondas Inscription,” in *Inscriptions of Macedonia. Third International Symposium on Macedonia, Thessaloniki, 8–12 December 1993* (Thessaloniki 1996) 217.

7 N.G.L. Hammond, “The Chalcidians and ‘Apollonia of the Thraceward Ionians’”, *BSA* 90 (1995) 312.

8 F. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine*, *BCH Suppl.* 16 (1988) 198–9, 218–22 and 421–3.

9 Hatzopoulos (*supra* n. 2) 161.

10 Hatzopoulos (*supra* n. 2) 160.

11 We need not have much confidence in Plinius; see the comments by West (*supra* n. 4) 59: “Pliny was ignorant of the most elementary geographical facts and I would suggest that he had an equally elementary knowledge of Greek. His errors may be due to other causes as well, failing eyesight, and the lack of a systematic filing card index for his innumerable notes.”

12 Hatzopoulos (*supra* n. 2) 162.

13 Hatzopoulos (*supra* n. 2) 170. On the reverse some coins have a swamp bird (probably a heron), some have a fish (perhaps a grayling); see H. Gäbler, “Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens VIII. Das Mygdonische Apollonia,” *ZfN* 36 (1926) 192–8. See also H. Gäbler, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*, Bd. 3 (Berlin 1935) 46.

14 Hatzopoulos (*supra* n. 2) 168–70. The assumption is not utterly unfounded: there seems to be something wrong with the sequence of the towns in the list, see the lengthy account in P. Flensted-Jensen, “The Bottiaians and Their *Poleis*,” *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 112–15.

15 Hatzopoulos (*supra* n. 2) 159–60.

ἐλεηλάτουν. ὁ δὲ Δέρδας ἐτύγγανε ταύτη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφιγμένος μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀριστοποιούμενος ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ. ὥς δ' εἶδε τὴν καταδρομὴν, ἥσυχίαν τε εἶχε, τοὺς θ' ἵππους ἐπεσκευασμένους καὶ τοὺς ἀμβάτας ἐξωπλισμένους ἔχων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καταφρονητικῶς οἱ Ὀλυνθιοὶ καὶ εἰς τὸ προάστιον καὶ εἰς αὐτὰς τὰς πύλας ἤλαυνον, τότε δὴ συντεταγμένους ἔχων ἐξελαύνει. οἱ δὲ ὥς εἶδον, εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. ὁ δ' ὥς ἄπαξ ἐτρέψατο, οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ἐνενήκοντα στάδια διώκων καὶ ἀποκτινύς, ἕως πρὸς αὐτὸ κατεδίωξε τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τὸ τεῖχος (Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.1–2).¹⁶

If all the sources are right, there were two Apollonias in the Chalkidic peninsula, located about 20 km from each other. This would be odd, but perhaps acceptable – considering that there was a Sane in Pallene and one in Akte – were it not for the fact that one of the Apollonias, supposedly an important city,¹⁷ is not known from any other source than Xenophon, whereas the other one “was important enough to issue coins, to be mentioned in the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Skylax, although it was not situated on the coast, and to be visited by the *theorodokoi* of Epidaurus”.¹⁸ Furthermore, no contemporary sources attempt to distinguish the two Apollonias from each other by using some kind of epithet, in the way that the two Dikaias in the Thracian *phoros* are called Δίκαια παρὰ ἡβάδερρα (*IG* I³ 277.VI.19–20) and Δίκαια Ἐρετρι(ῶν) (*IG* I³ 266.II.27) respectively, despite the fact that they were supposedly located some 20 km from each other (though they need not necessarily have had neighbouring territories as has been stated).¹⁹ In conclusion, Hatzopoulos prefers to trust the evidence of the list of *theorodokoi*, Ps.-Skylax, and the coins, rather than that of Xenophon who, after all, lived in the Peloponnese and somehow got the distance from Olynthos to Apollonia wrong.²⁰

So, the problem evidently lies in Xenophon's text. A solution that suggests itself is that the discrepancy could be due to a textual problem. But that can be brushed aside immediately since there is no reason at all to suppose an error in the manuscripts. Nor is there any reason to assume that Xenophon is not reliable

16 “At the very beginning of the following spring the Olynthian cavalry, about six hundred in number, made a raid into the territory of Apollonia. Appearing about midday, they scattered over the country and engaged in pillage. It so happened that on this same day Derdas had arrived with his own cavalry and was having his morning meal in Apollonia. When he saw the raiders he made no immediate move, but saw that his horses were saddled and bridled and that their riders were fully armed. The Olynthians now came riding up insolently right into the suburbs and even up to the city gates and it was at just this moment that Derdas with his men in close battle order charged out at them. As soon as they saw him, the Olynthians turned and ran, and he, once they were in flight, did not stop pursuing them and cutting them down for twelve miles until he had driven them right up to the wall of Olynthos” (transl. Rex Warner, *Xenophon. A History of My Times*, Penguin Classics, 2nd edn. 1979).

17 Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.11: Ἐξ Ἀκάνθου δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας, αἵ περ μέγιστα τῶν περὶ Ὀλυνθον πόλεων ... The sizes of Akanthos and Apollonia are of course relative, but it is evident that Akanthos and Apollonia were of some importance in the region.

18 Hatzopoulos (*supra* n. 2) 176.

19 See Hatzopoulos (*supra* n. 2) with refs.

20 Hatzopoulos (*supra* n. 2) 176–7.

here, because “Xenophon had access to participants in this campaign”:²¹ Xenophon was a friend of Agesilaos, who in turn was the brother of Teleutias (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.19, 5.2.37), the Spartan harmost in charge of the expedition against Olynthos (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.37).

What we have to look at here is the last passage: ἕως πρὸς αὐτὸ κατεδίωξε τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τὸ τεῖχος. It is translated “until he had driven them right up to the wall of Olynthos”. Hammond (followed by Hatzopoulos) has suggested that the 90 stadia (16 km) apply only to διώκων and ἀποκτινύς,²² so that Derdas pursued and killed for 16 km and then continued the pursuit without killing. This interpretation seems somewhat contrived, since ἕως definitely means “until” (i.e. = πρὶν), and “when the principal clause is negative, it is implied that the action of the principal clause does not take place until the action of the *until* clause takes place”;²³ hence when Derdas had pursued and killed for 90 stades he had reached the *teichos* of the Olynthians.

But there is another solution to the problem: there is more than one meaning of the word τεῖχος. The most common meaning is “city-wall”, and it is used in this sense by Thucydides about the city-wall of Poteidaia (1.56) and by Xenophon about that of Byzantion (*Hell.* 1.3.14). But sometimes *teichos* means “fort, fortress”, i.e. a fortification located in the territory of a *polis*. In an inscription from Chersonesos Taurika (Syll.³ 360, ca. 300–280), for instance, there is a clear distinction between πόλις καὶ χώρα καὶ τεῖχη (ll. 4 and 22), the *teiche* not being the city-walls, but fortifications in the territory.²⁴ There are many examples of permanent fortresses and only a few will be mentioned here. It is well known that Attika had a number of fortresses. Thucydides (8.4) mentions, e.g., the fortification of Sounion, and the location of the fourth-century fortresses of Attika are shown by Ducrey.²⁵ Doriskos is classified as a *teichos* by Herodotos (5.58) and Ps.-Skylax (67). It played an important rôle during the Persian war, but there is no indication that it ever became a *polis*.²⁶ Also the territorial defence system of Megara has been examined, and the existence of a number of forts has been documented.²⁷ However, *teichos* is sometimes used about a temporary fort or a fortified camp, e.g., by Herodotos (9.15.3) who describes that Mardonios constructed a palisade (called *teichos*) from felled trees in 479, and by Thucydides

21 Hammond (*supra* n. 7) 313.

22 Hammond (*supra* n. 7) 313; Hatzopoulos (*supra* n. 2) 183.

23 H.W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Harvard 1984 [1920]) § 2429a; see also W.W. Goodwin, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb* (New York 1965) § 613.

24 L. Robert, review of F.G. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften*, in *Gnomon* 42 (1970) 600–1.

25 P. Ducrey, *Warfare in Ancient Greece* (New York 1985) fig. 115; see also M.H. Munn, *The Defense of Attica. The Dema Wall and the Boiotian War of 378–375 B.C.* (Oxford 1993) 7–11.

26 B. Isaac, *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (Leiden 1986) 137–40. See Robert (*supra* n. 24) 600–1 for a list of other known *teiche*.

27 S. van de Maele, “Le réseau mégarien de défense territoriale contre l’attaque à l’époque classique (V^e et IV^e s. av. J.-C.),” in S. van de Maele & J.M. Fossey (eds.), *Fortificationes Antiquae* (Amsterdam 1992) 93–107.

(3.85.3) who mentions how 600 exiled Korkyreans built a fortification on Mount Istone in 427.

Now it remains to consider if Xenophon ever uses the word *teichos* in the sense of "fort" in the *Hellenika*. He uses *τείχος* or *τείχη* 95 times, very often in the sense of "city-wall", particularly about Athens. But in some cases he uses *teichos* in the sense of "fort", e.g., at 4.4.16 when he mentions that Iphikrates and his men τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἐμβαλόντες ἐλεηλάτουν τε καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη. Τὰ τεῖχη is translated "walled towns" by Warner, but there is no reason to believe that these *teiche* were more than fortresses. There is plenty of evidence about fortresses (that were not *poleis*) in Arkadia: Thucydides mentions a named *teichos* (Kypsela) in the Parrhasike (5.33.1), from his description probably a permanent fortification. Two sites in the Mantinike may have been fortresses, although they may also have been farmsteads with a tower.²⁸ A probably single watchtower, dating to the first half of the fourth century, has been found about 2,5 km from Phigalia in Arkadia.²⁹ It is of course possible that the *teiche* referred to are city-walls, but then we should perhaps expect the word *poleis* instead of *teiche*. But Xenophon (*Hell.* 5.4.16–17; 6.4.3) also mentions the substantial fortress Kreusis, which was never a *polis*, in the territory of Thebes.³⁰ Finally, Xenophon (1.5.18; 2.1.25) uses *teiche* about the mysterious footholds of Alkibiades in the Thracian Chersonese. Warner translates *teiche* "castles", and although we do not know where these fortifications were, they were definitely "very small fortified places",³¹ perhaps temporary.

Returning to Xenophon's description of Apollonia, let us assume that the meaning of *teichos* at 5.3.2 is *not* "wall", but "fortress" or "fortified camp",³² so that τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τὸ τεῖχος can be rendered "the fortified camp of the Olynthians", not "the city-wall of Olynthos". Then who are οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι referred to? The most obvious answer to that question is "the inhabitants of Olynthos", but it could just as well be the six hundred Olynthian horse mentioned in this very passage, so that *teichos* refers to a temporary fortification of the Olynthian cavalry. Such a fortification could very well have been situated on the outskirts of the Olynthian territory. If that is so, it would not be surprising that Derdas could pursue the Olynthians for 16 km and then reach their *teichos*. In conclusion, then, the Apollonia that is 16 km north of this Olynthian *teichos* can easily be identical with the Apollonia 35 km north of Olynthos.

28 S. & H. Hodkinson, "Mantineia and the Mantinike: Settlement and Society in a Greek Polis," *BSA* 76 (1981) 251–2.

29 F.A. Cooper, "Topographical Notes from Southwest Arkadia," *AAA* 5 (1972) 359.

30 J.M. Fossey, *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia*, vols. 1–2 (Chicago 1988) 157–63.

31 Isaac (*supra* n. 26) 182.

32 Already suggested by West (*supra* n. 4) 58, but not commented on by Hatzopoulos.

II. Kampsä and the Skapsaians

The ninth volume of the excavation reports from Olynthos was published in 1938 and in that volume Robinson and Clement published the coins found during the excavation of Olynthos from 1928 to 1934.³³ In the 14th – and last – volume more coins were published, among them three newcomers.³⁴ The first and second were from Argos and Abydos whose coinage was already known. The third newcomer, however, was more sensational, since the one specimen found in the house of the Tiled Prothyron was of a type never encountered before.³⁵ It is a bronze coin with a diameter of 10.5 mm. It has on the obverse a head of Apollo looking to the left, and on the reverse a lion (or panther) crouching above a line, and beneath the line the legend ΣΚΑΨΑΙ. The coin has been dated tentatively to the first half of the fourth century.

There cannot be much doubt that this coin was minted by the rather mysterious Σκαψαῖοι of the Athenian tribute lists. They are listed (always with their ethnic) from 452/1 (*IG* I³ 261.II.6) until 415 (*IG* I³ 290.III.13), a total of 14 times, and they belong to the *Thrakios phoros*. However, they are not listed in the complete panel of 430/29, which may indicate that they took part in the revolt of 432 (Thuc. 1.58.2), and consequently, that they lived somewhere in the Chalkidic peninsula. If they participated in the revolt, they must have joined the Athenians again at some point before 415. The Skapsaians paid 1000 drachmas.

Can the tribute lists give us any hint as to the location of the Skapsaians? Employing a method used by West to locate Stolos,³⁶ Zahrnt concludes that of the 15 times the Skapsaians appear in the lists they are registered 7 times with Neapolis, 6 times with Mende, 4 times with Serme, twice with Aige, Mekyberna, Sane, Strepsa, and once with Aphytis, Assera, Olynthos, the Pharbelians, the Phegetians, Poteidaia, Sarte, Sermylia, the Skablaians, Skione, Spartolos, Stolos, Therambos, and Thyssos. Thus, "Von den 39 Nennungen fallen 19 auf die Pallene und 7 in die Landschaft westlich Olynths, das sind genau zwei Drittel."³⁷

33 D.M. Robinson and P.A. Clement, *Excavations at Olynthus, Part IX, The Chalcidic Mint and the Excavation Coins Found in 1928–1934* (Baltimore 1938).

34 D.M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus, Part XIV, Terracottas, Lamps, and Coins Found in 1934 and 1938* (Baltimore 1952).

35 Robinson (*supra* n. 2) 407, 419.

36 A.B. West, "Thucydides, V, 18, 5. Where was Skolos (Stolos)?" *AJP* 58.1 (1937) 157–166, esp. 157–61. The method rests on the observation that the towns recorded in the tribute lists seem to occur, not in exact geographical order, but in "groupings", i.e. towns which were "confined to a limited district" (p. 160), probably, like the syntelies, reflecting "the order in which the tribute payments were made" (p. 158), which means that representatives of the various towns "had met on their way to Athens and had decided to travel in company to the Dionysiac festival" (p. 158). Thus, in the list of 451/0 we find the sequence Φασελῖται, Σκιοναῖοι καὶ Θραμβάιοι, Ἀφυτᾶιοι, Αἰγάντιοι, Μενδαῖοι, Σκαψαῖοι, Νεοπολῖται ἐκ Παλλένης, Μυκόνιοι (*IG* I³ 262.I.2–11) of which Σκιοναῖοι καὶ Θραμβάιοι, Ἀφυτᾶιοι, Αἰγάντιοι, Μενδαῖοι, Σκαψαῖοι and Νεοπολῖται ἐκ Παλλένης constitute a "grouping" – since they were all situated in Pallene or the area north of it – framed by Φασελῖται and Μυκόνιοι.

37 M. Zahrnt, *Olynth und die Chalkidier, Vestigia* 14 (München 1971) 232.

This conclusion needs to be corrected a tiny bit. The Skapsaians are recorded 14, not 15, times in the tribute lists.³⁸ Furthermore, it is true that they are listed 7 times with Neapolis, but there were two Neapoleis in the *Thrakios phoros*. In the years 444/3 (*IG* I³ 268.II.19, if the entry is correctly restored) and 443/2 (*IG* I³ 268.II.28) the Skapsaians are listed with Neapolis in Thrace, and thus they are listed 5, not 7, times with Neapolis in Pallene, which gives a slightly different result: The Skapsaians are listed 14 times in groupings with 33 other names of towns or peoples. Of these the location of Serme, the Pharbelians, and the Phegetians is unknown, which leaves 27 names of which 15 are in Pallene, 6 in the western part of the Chalkidic peninsula, and 6 in the eastern part. Thus, we obtain the result that the Skapsaians seem to have lived in the western part of the Chalkidic peninsula and perhaps even in Pallene.

However, to check the validity of this method, we must see what happens if we apply it to a town whose location is already known. Let us use the examples of Stagiros and Aphytis. Stagiros was located on a small promontory (modern Olimbias) in the eastern part of the Chalkidic peninsula, between Akanthos and Bromiskos.³⁹ Stagiros occurs 15 times in the tribute lists in groupings with 41 other names. The location of the Pharbelians, the Phegetians, the Othorians, and Serme is unknown, and that brings us down to 35 names, of which 14 are on Athos, 5 in the eastern part of the Chalkidic peninsula, 12 in the western, and 4 on Sithonia. This investigation does not give as unambiguous a result as the investigation of the Skapsaians, although it does point to the eastern part of the peninsula. So, let us have a look at Aphytis, which was located on Pallene, about 15 km southeast of Poteidaia,⁴⁰ and which occurs 16 times in the tribute lists, and in the tribute assessment list of 425/4. It is listed with 51 other names, of which the location of the Skapsaians and the Skablaians is unknown. Furthermore, it cannot be settled whether Neapolis in the list of 415 is the one in Thrace or the one on Pallene, which brings us down to 47 other names. Of these 16 are in Pallene, 16 are in the western part of the peninsula, 11 in the eastern, and 4 in Sithonia. Thus, Aphytis is grouped twice as many times with towns in the western part of the peninsula than with towns in the eastern (including Sithonia). Thus, it seems that this method can give us an impression of the general area in which a given place was situated, and consequently, we will consider it plausible that the Skapsaians lived in the western part of the peninsula.

Let us return to the coins: Some other coins than the one inscribed ΣΚΑΨΑΙ had already been attributed to the Skapsaians. The coins in question are silver coins struck on the Euboic standard before 480.⁴¹ On the obverse the coins have

38 B.D. Meritt, H.T. Wade-Gery and M.F. MacGregor in *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, vol. I (Cambridge, Mass. 1939) suggested that Σ[κ - -] in the list of 436/5 could be restored Σκαφσσίλοι or Σκιάθιοι (p. 443), but in *IG* I³ the line is left as Σ[κ - - -] (276.VI.24).

39 Hdt. 7.115.2; K. Sismanides, "Ανασκαφές στην αρχαία Σκιάωνη και στα αρχαία Στάγειρα κατά το 1991," *AEMΘ* 5 (1991) 319-33.

40 Hdt. 7.123.1; Thuc. 1.64.2; *AAA* 4 (1971) 356-77.

41 B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum*² (Oxford 1911) 212; Gäbler 1935 (*supra* n. 13) 66-7; *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum (=SNG Cop.) (New Jersey 1982), Macedonia no. 146. I have not been able to establish the provenance of the coins.

an ambling ithyphallic ass, above it a kylix and a dotted line, and on the reverse a mill-sail pattern with KA in two of four triangles. The ass and the kylix have been interpreted as Dionysiac types.⁴² The reverse stamp is the stamp used for some coins of Mende,⁴³ the coins of which also bear an ithyphallic ass on the obverse. Thus, the coins may reasonably belong to a site also situated in the Chalkidic peninsula and/or a site which was possibly a colony of Mende. This site is supposed to be the Κάμψα mentioned by Herodotos (7.123.2) as a *polis* in Krousis⁴⁴ (i.e. the western coast of the Chalkidic peninsula), one of the *poleis* that supplied Xerxes with troops in 480.⁴⁵ Kampsā is generally considered the hometown of the Skapsaians.⁴⁶ But this identification implies that Καμψ- and Σκαψ- are the same words. Many scholars find support in the fact that Stephanos of Byzantion (370.18) calls the town Κάψα. The passage in Stephanos runs as follows:

Κάψα, πόλις Χαλκιδικῆς χώρας κατὰ Παλλήνην, ὁμοροῦσα τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ. ὁ πολίτης Καψαῖος.

But if we compare the passage to what Herodotos says about Kampsā, I think it is evident that Stephanos is just paraphrasing Herodotos:

.. παραλαμβάνων στρατὴν καὶ ἐκ τῶν προσεχέων πολιῶν τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ὁμορεουσέων δὲ τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ, τῇσι οὐνόματά ἐστι τάδε... Κάμψα..

ἐκ τῶν προσεχέων πολιῶν τῇ Παλλήνῃ has become κατὰ Παλλήνην, and ὁμορεουσέων κτλ. is taken over directly. The only significant addition is Χαλκιδικῆς χώρας which may just be an explanatory note added by Stephanos. Thus, Stephanos' statement does not have any independent value, and even if it did, it still does not explain the variants κα(μ)ψ- and σκαψ-.⁴⁷ Correspondence of

42 W. Wroth, "Greek Coins acquired by the British Museum in 1900," *NC* 20 (1900) 273–96, esp. 275–6.

43 Gäbler 1935 (*supra* n. 13) 66–7, 74. One of these Mendaian coins was published by Weber who does not seem to have noticed the legend KA on the rev. of the coin although it is clearly visible (H. Weber, "A Small Find of Coins of Mende, etc." *NC* 18 [1898] 251–8, pl. 16.1.)

44 Head (*supra* n. 41) 212 erroneously explains that Kampsā was "north of Mende and near Assa or Assera." In fact, Mende was situated in Pallene about 60 km south of Kampsā and Ass(er)a in the Singitic Gulf about 70 km southeast of Kampsā as the crow flies, see Zahrt (*supra* n. 5) 233 n. 347.

45 Robinson states that the inhabitants of Kampsā are the Σκάψιοι of the tribute lists (e.g. *IG* I³ 261.IV.27), but the Σκάψιοι, on coins spelled ΣΚΗΨΙΟΝ (Head [*supra* n. 41] 548) are in fact the inhabitants of Σκήψις. To complicate matters further, the editors of the Athenian tribute lists state that "Krateros is credited with the ethnic Σκήμψιοι [for Σκήψιοι]". But the quotation which is presumably from Krateros is to be found in Stephanos of Byzantion s.v. Σκέμψα (574.5), which Stephanos calls a πόλις Θράκης! Meritt, Wade-Gery and MacGregor (*supra* n. 38) 549.

46 A. Böckh, *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1886) 482, taken over by Zahrt (*supra* n. 5) 231. Their opinion is shared by Gäbler 1935 (*supra* n. 13) 66, and the editors of the tribute lists, *supra* n. 6, p. 549.

47 One wishes that he had been more informative as to his source for Σκέμψα, πόλις Θράκης (574.4).

κ- and σκ- is not normal in Greek and can only be explained if we presuppose influence from some other language, e.g. Thracian,⁴⁸ which in this region is absolutely possible.⁴⁹ One hypothesis is that the Greeks were trying to render a Thracian word and were not sure whether it began with σκ- or κ-. Curiously the two parallels of this possible variant come from the same area. Σκίθαι and Κίθας are often considered to be the same place (see below), and second-century coins of Skotoussa near the river Strymon bear the legend ΚΟΤΟΥΣΣΑ (although the coins could also be from Skotoussa in Thessaly).⁵⁰

But is there any other site with which the KA-coins could possibly be connected? There were in fact two other towns in the Chalkidic peninsula whose names begin with KA, namely Kalindioia and Kamakai⁵¹ (admittedly sometimes called Kemakai), both Bottiaian towns first encountered about 422.⁵² Their existence cannot be attested prior to ca. 422 although they probably did exist before that period. No other coins have been attributed to those two towns.⁵³

In conclusion, since it is not evident that Κάμψα and Σκαφσαῖοι are linguistically related; and, more seriously, since the two coin types bear no resemblance to each other, I think it is safer to separate Kampsa and the Skapsaians.

III. Skithai, Kithas, and Kissos

Skithai offers a case similar to that of Kampsa and the Skapsaians. Skithai is known from one literary source only, namely Stephanos of Byzantion (574.17). The passage on Skithai runs as follows:

- 48 Thracian is known to lose s- before -t, see J.E. Rasmussen, "Die thrakischen Inschriften – Beiträge zu einer neuen Deutung," *APILKU Arbejdspapirer* 6 (Copenhagen 1987) 113–34, esp. 122.
- 49 One of the other towns which according to Herodotos belonged to Krousis was called Κώμβρεια or, according to the best *mss.*, Κωμβρία. There is no doubt that -βρία is the Thracian word for "town" also found in e.g. Selymbria and Mesambria. See D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, Österreichisches Akademie der Wissenschaften, Schriften der Balkankommission (Wien 1957), s.v. -βρία.
- 50 Head (*supra* n. 41) 244–5.
- 51 The suggestion that the KA of the coins should have any connection to the Cape Kanastraion (about 20 km from Mende) has been rejected (Gäbler 1935 [*supra* n. 13] 66–7) since Kanastraion was just a promontory (Hdt. 7.123.1; Ps.-Skylax 66). But if there was an important sanctuary at Kanastraion – it is called ἱερὸν ἀρρωτήριον by Ps.-Skylax (66) and there was a (admittedly very late) cult of Apollon Kanastraïos at Aphytis (AAA 4 [1971] pp. 356–67 = *BE* 86 [1973] pp. 117, no. 284) – it is not completely implausible that it could somehow be celebrated *via* the coins of Mende. And that Kanastraion was not a *polis* does not preclude that Mende could have struck coins with its name: there are examples of sanctuaries (that were not *poleis*) that struck coins (ΟΑΥΝΗΙΚΟΝ coinage, see Head [*supra* n. 41] 420; ΕΛΕΥΣΙ coinage, *ibid.* 391).
- 52 Flensted-Jensen (*supra* n. 14) esp. 112–17.
- 53 Although the Bottiaians struck coins in the last quarter of the fifth century and the first half of the fourth, see Flensted-Jensen (*supra* n. 14) 126 with refs. Furthermore, Hammond states that Kalindioia struck bronze coins (*The Macedonian State* [Oxford 1989] 160), but it has turned out that the coins in question were struck by Apollonia, see Flensted-Jensen (*supra* n. 14) 116.

Σκίθαι, πόλις Θράκης πλησίον Ποτιδαίας. ὁ πολίτης Σκιθαῖος, ὡς φησι Θεόπομπος (= *FGrHist* 115, fr. 375).

Thus, according to Stephanos there was a *polis* Skithai in the vicinity of Poteidaia. Since he calls Skithai a *polis* in Thrace, not in Macedonia, he probably used a pre-350 source. It is highly probable that Stephanos may be right about the location of Skithai, but we cannot be sure that his site-classification is correct.⁵⁴ However, the fact that Theopompos mentioned the city-ethnic, renders it probable that it was actually a *polis*.⁵⁵

Some silver coins, struck on the Euboic standard in the Archaic period (ca. 500) have on the obverse the forepart of a lion jumping to the right, but looking backwards, and the legend ΣΚΙΘ(ΑΙΟ)Ν, and on the reverse is a quadripartite incuse square.⁵⁶ One type has five pellets in the middle of the incuse square exactly like the reverse of an Archaic tetradrachm of Sarmyia,⁵⁷ which means that there may have been some connection between these coins and the mint at Sarmyia, and consequently, that the ΣΚΙΘ coins belong to the Chalkidic peninsula.⁵⁸ There is also another type which has on the obverse a lion standing to the right and gnawing a hoofed leg – probably from a deer – which it holds with its forepaws. Above the lion is a pellet, and under the lion are three lines, the middle one dotted, under which is the legend ΣΚΙΘ. On the reverse is a quadripartite incuse square.⁵⁹ All these coins had previously been attributed to Skione, but Gäbler has argued that they should be attributed to Skithai.⁶⁰

The fact that the ethnic Σκιθαῖος was mentioned by Theopompos is sometimes taken as evidence that Skithai still existed in the 330s,⁶¹ but we do not know in which context Theopompos mentioned the ethnic – if it was in one of the many digressions of the *Philippika* it could have been retrospective.⁶²

Skithai is often supposed to be identical to Kithas⁶³ which appears in the tribute list of 434/3 and in the tribute assessment list of 425/4 (where it is completely restored).⁶⁴ In the list of 434/3 it pays along with the Tindaians, Smilla, Gigonos, and Haisa in a syntelic group, and since Smilla, Gigonos and Haisa belong to Krousis (Hdt. 7.123.2), the editors of the tribute lists assume that

54 D. Whitehead, "Site-Classification and Reliability in Stephanus of Byzantium," *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) 117–20.

55 M.H. Hansen, "City-Ethnics as Evidence for Polis Identity," *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 182–7.

56 H. Gäbler, "Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens X. Skithai auf der Chalkidike," *ZfN* 39 (1929), pp. 255–60; *id.* 1935 (*supra* n. 13) p. 110; *SNG Cop.* (*supra* n. 41), Macedonia nos. 325 and 326. One has ΣΚΙΘΑ (Gäbler p. 258, no. 4).

57 Gäbler 1935 (*supra* n. 13) 107 no. 3.

58 The provenance of the coins is unknown.

59 Gäbler (*supra* n. 56) 260, no. 7; *id.* (*supra* n. 23) no. 2.

60 Gäbler (*supra* n. 56).

61 Zahrt (*supra* n. 5) 233.

62 On the *Philippika* of Theopompos, see, e.g., G.S. Shrimpton, *Theopompus the Historian* (London 1991) 58–126.

63 E.g., Meritt, Wade-Gery, and MacGregor (*supra* n. 38) 541.

64 *IG* I³ 71.IV.83; *IG* I³ 278.VI.30.

Kithas also belonged to Krousis.⁶⁵ The fact that Kithas is listed in the rubric of πόλεις ἃς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν renders it highly probable, if not certain, that Kithas was a *polis*. If Kithas was situated close to the other towns in the syntelic group (i.e., in Krousis), it could in fact be πλησίον Ποτιδαίας, so from that point of view it seems reasonable to identify Kithas with Skithai. This is however refuted by Zahrt who says that “man [würde] Skithai weiter südöstlich vermuten als das in der Krusis gelegene Kithas”.⁶⁶ One of the reasons why Zahrt cannot accept that a given place could be located both “near Poteidaia” and “in Krousis” is that he supposes that Bottike extended to the sea and therefore occupied a part of the coastline between Poteidaia and Krousis. But there is absolutely no evidence to prove that Bottike extended to the sea,⁶⁷ and therefore, it is likely that the territories of Poteidaia and Krousis were contiguous. Thus, geographically, Kithas and Skithai could be identical. But the real stumbling block is again whether the forms Κίθαξ and Σκίθαι are really variants. I do not find it obvious, *pace* the editors of the Athenian tribute lists, that “the form Σκίθαι has a real resemblance to Κίθαξ”.⁶⁸

Kithas in turn has been identified with Κίσσος⁶⁹ known only from two fragments of Strabo (7 fr. 21, 24) who says that Kassandros founded Thessalonike by synoikising Kissos and other *polismata* and *polichnia* respectively.⁷⁰ However, the city-ethnic Κισσεῖτης is known from a recently published inscription (*SEG* 40 542) which can either be dated to ca. 350 and assigned to the northwestern part of the Chalkidic peninsula (north of Krousis)⁷¹ or be dated to 294/3 and assigned to the southeastern part of the peninsula (north of Sithonia).⁷² The inscription concerns boundaries of various communities. Whereas it seems inconclusive to which part of the peninsula the ethnic Κισσεῖτης belongs, it seems certain that Kissos was located farther to the north than any *polis* of Krousis,⁷³ and therefore Kissos and Kithas cannot be identical. Like in the case of Kampsa and the Skapsaians it is probably safer to separate Skithai, Kithas, and Kissos, however tempting it may be to put together some of these obscure places.

Pernille Flensted-Jensen

The Copenhagen Polis Centre

65 Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor (*supra* n. 38) 502 and 540.

66 Zahrt (*supra* n. 5) 194

67 Flensted-Jensen (*supra* n. 14) 108.

68 Meritt, Wade-Gery, and MacGregor (*supra* n. 38) 541

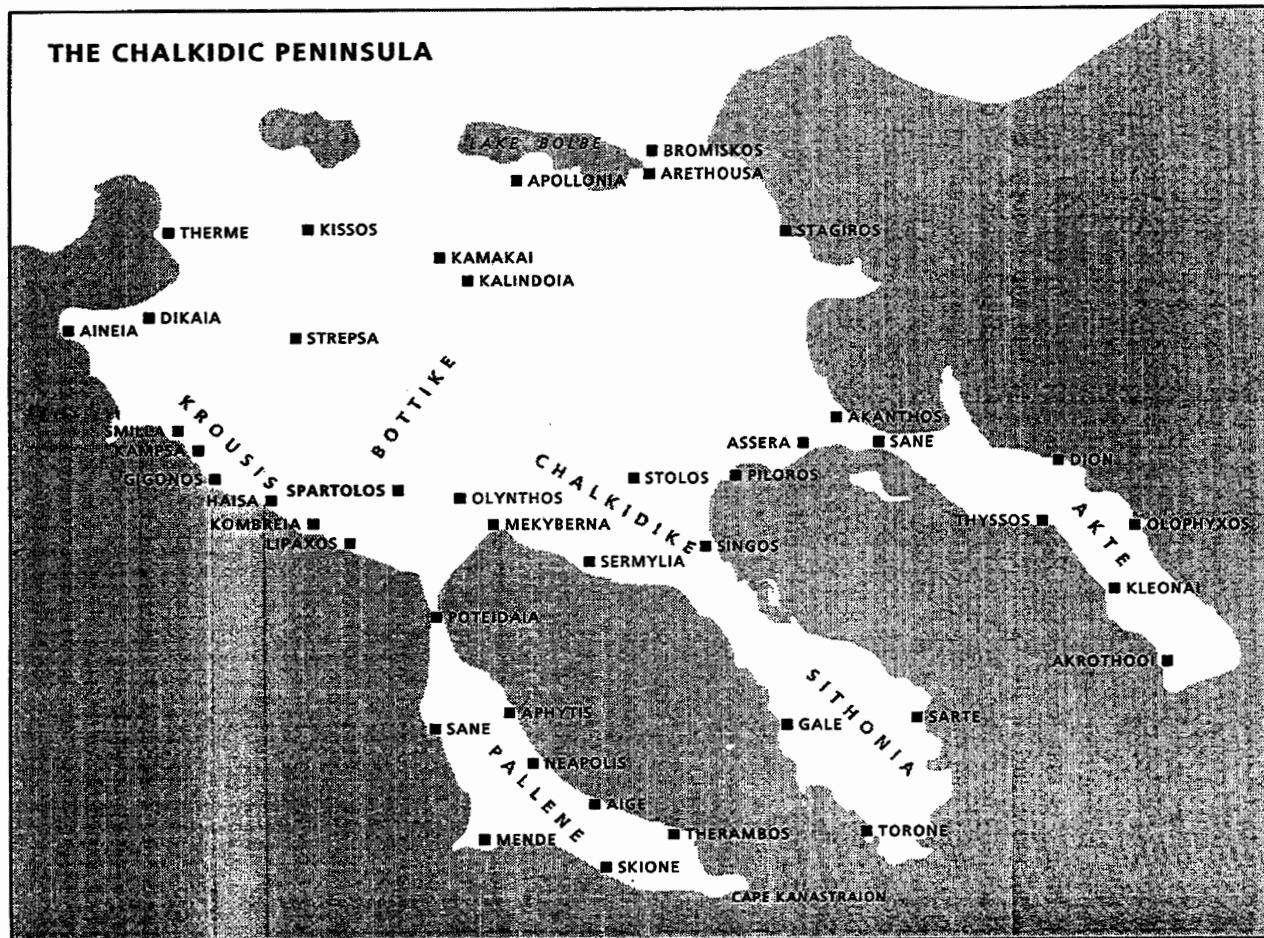
69 Meritt, Wade-Gery, and MacGregor (*supra* n. 38) 540.

70 For the archaeological remains: G. Bakalakis, “Κίσσός,” *Makedonika* 3 (Thessaloniki 1956) 353–62; N.G.L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1972) 187.

71 M.B. Hatzopoulos and L. Loukopoulou, *Recherches sur les marches orientales des Temenides, Meletemata* 11 (Athens 1992) 123–45.

72 Vokotopoulou (*supra* n. 6) 208–23.

73 C. Edson, “Notes on the Thracian *Phoros*,” *CP* 42 (1947) 88–90.



TRIPHYLIA. AN EXPERIMENT IN ETHNIC CONSTRUCTION AND POLITICAL ORGANISATION¹

by

THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN

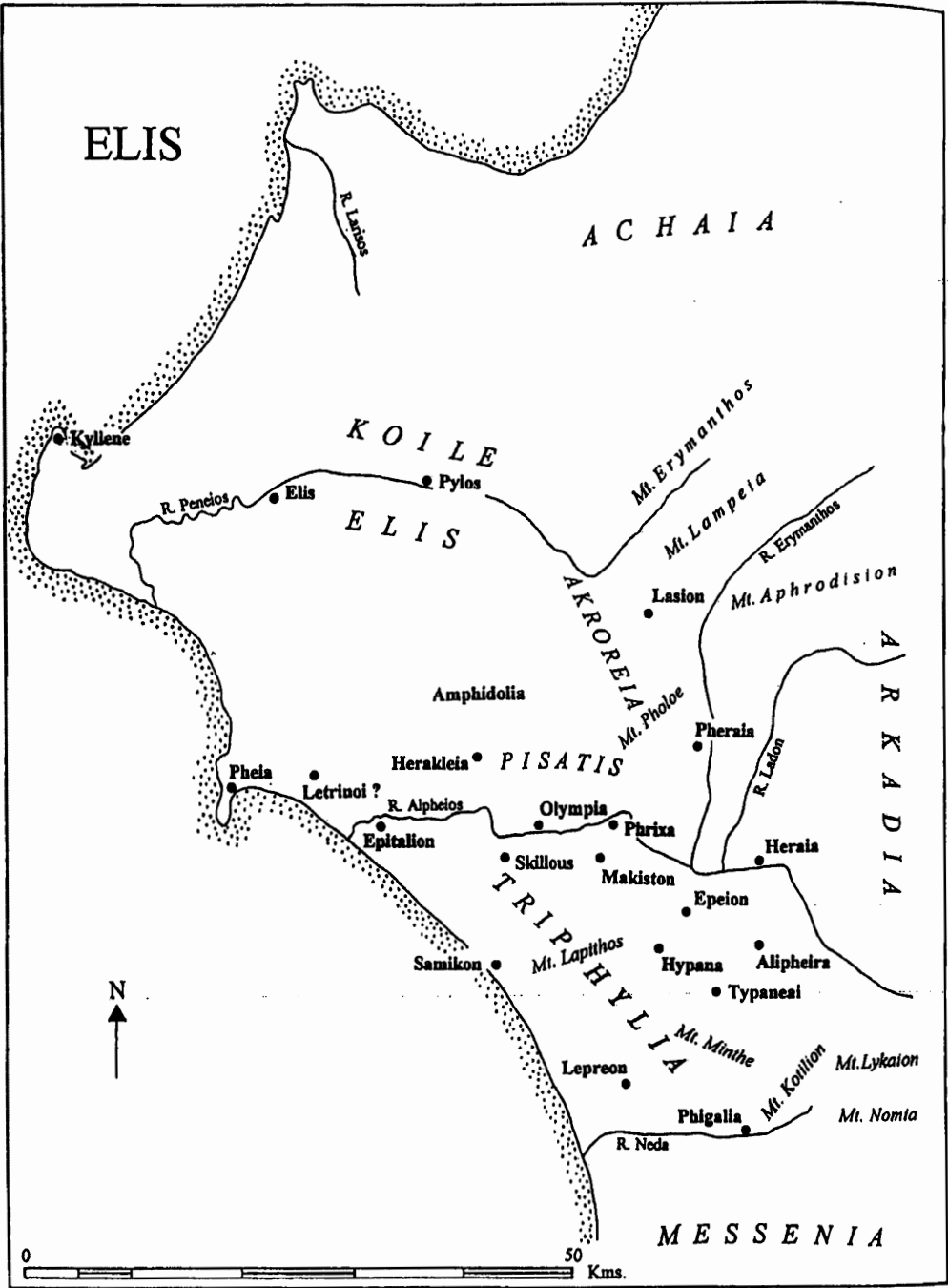
I. Introduction

The aim of the following study is to argue that Triphylia as a political, ethnic, and geographical concept was a construct of the first half of the fourth century. I begin by studying the concept of Triphylia as found in Polybios, and go on to compare this concept with, first, our fifth-century sources for the area, and, second, with our fourth-century sources. In this way I show that Triphylia did not exist in the fifth century, but was created in the fourth century on the basis of a number of pre-existing *poleis*. In the fourth century the Triphylians were organised in a small tribal, or federal, state comparable to the Arkadian Mainalians. The Triphylian state conducted foreign policy, raised troops, levied taxes, held assemblies, and had an eponymous official who headed a board, and there was citizenship both at a tribal or federal and at the *polis* level. Somewhere in the period between the 360s and 219 the political organisation of the Triphylians disintegrated, leaving behind only a geographical concept of Triphylia.

II. Triphylia in Polybios

Polybios furnishes us with the following rather precise picture of Triphylia in the Hellenistic period. The name of the area was Τριφυλία,² derived from the mythical figure Triphylos who was considered a son of Arkas,³ the eponymous hero of the Arkadians. Accordingly, Triphylia must have been considered a part of Arkadia; this is duly confirmed by Polybios who states that Triphylia formed "the extreme south-west portion of Arcadia".⁴ The general location of the area is

- 1 I would like to thank P. Flensted-Jensen, M.H. Hansen, J. Roy and P. Siewert for valuable assistance with this paper; Siewert also kindly provided me with copies of works of his which have not yet appeared; I owe the map below p. 130 to the kindness of J. Roy.
- 2 Polyb. 4.77.5, 77.7, 79.1, 79.5, 80.14, 80.15, 81.1, 5.27.4, 18.42.7, 47.10.
- 3 Polyb. 4.77.8: ... εἰς τὴν Τριφυλίαν, ἥ τῆς μὲν προσηγορίας τέτυχε ταύτης ἀπὸ Τριφύλου τῶν Ἀρκάδος παίδων ἑνός.
- 4 Polyb. 4.77.8: ... ἐσχατεύουσα (sc. ἡ Τριφυλία) τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ὡς πρὸς χειμερινὰς δόσεις. Transl. by W.R. Paton in the Loeb ed.



Elis and Triphylia

described as “on the Peloponnesian coast between Elis and Messenia”.⁵ This presumably means that it was the district between the river Neda to the south and the river Alpheios to the north, as most modern scholars hold.⁶ How far east the district stretched is not clear from Polybios, but a passage in Livy indicates that Triphylia did not include Alipheira,⁷ which fits all we know about this city.⁸ The conclusion is that Polybios thought of Triphylia as the district of Arkadia lying west of Alipheira between the Neda and the Alpheios.

At 4.77.9 Polybios gives a list of the *poleis* of Triphylia from which it appears that the district comprised the following communities: Samikon, Lepreon, Hypana, Typaneiai, Pyrgos, Epe(i)on, Bolax, Stylangion, and Phrixa(i); however, Epitalion should be included too, as is clear from 4.80.13.⁹ At 4.77.9 Polybios uses the present tense,¹⁰ and so the list given there refers, strictly speaking, to the time of writing in the middle of the second century B.C. Yet, it appears from 4.79–80 that Triphylia comprised these same communities and Epitalion in 219, and so we may reasonably assume that the omission of Epitalion at 4.77.9 is due to a slip. It is, furthermore, clear from 4.80.14 that these communities constituted all of Triphylia.¹¹ The geographical position of these communities – as far as they are known – fits the definition of the district as outlined above.¹²

According to Polybios, in 219 the Triphylian communities had recently passed into dependency upon Elis,¹³ and as such they were allied with the Aitolians.¹⁴ It seems to appear from Polybios’ description of Philip V’s Triphylian campaign in 219 that the communities of Triphylia were not united *among themselves*. When the news of the fall of Alipheira spread, “all the inhabitants of Triphylia in amazement took counsel for themselves and for their own communities.”¹⁵ Each city, then, devised its own policy.¹⁶ This, of course, could

5 Polyb. 4.77.8: ... τῆς Πελοποννήσου παρὰ θάλατταν μεταξὺ τῆς Ἡλείων καὶ Μεσσηνίων χώρας.

6 See Bölte (1948) 186; Walbank (1970) 529; Siewert (1987–1988) 10; Tuplin (1993) 184. In Strabo’s day the Neda formed the border against Messenia, see 8.3.22.

7 Livy 32.5.3–4: ... *legatos misit* (sc. Philip V) ... *qui redderent* ... <Megalopolitis> *Alipheran contententibus numquam eam urbem fuisse ex Triphylia, quia una esset ex iis quae ad condendam Megalen polin ex concilio Arcadum contributae forent*.

8 See Nielsen (1996a) 132–4, 140–41.

9 See Walbank (1970) 529.

10 ἔχει δ’ ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις ταύτας.

11 Polyb. 4.80.14: πᾶσαν ... τὴν Τριφυλίαν.

12 See the map above.

13 Polyb. 4.77.10: ὃν ὀλίγοις χρόνοις πρότερον ἐπικρατήσαντο Ἡλεῖοι. Exactly when the Triphylian communities fell victims to Elis is unknown. However, J. Roy has pointed out to me that Polyb. 4.77.10 (stating that Lydiadas of Megalopolis gave Alipheira to Elis), for which see Walbank [1970] *ad loc.*, indicates that Elis must have controlled most of Triphylia by 244. This Eleian control is also indicated by SEG 25 448, an inscription of the second half of the third century found in Alipheira, but in the Eleian dialect; the decree seems to be an Eleian enactment ordering affairs in Alipheira; Alipheira, then, was probably subjected to Elis at this time, and so presumably was Triphylia.

14 See Polyb. 4.79.3.

15 Polyb. 4.79.1: καταπλαγεῖς γεγονότες πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν Τριφυλίαν ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδίων πατρίδων.

16 See also Roy (1997) 315, n. 54.

have been due to force of necessity, but the periphrasis οἱ κατὰ τὴν Τριφυλίαν instead of οἱ Τριφύλιοι rather suggests that there was no previous unity. Polybios goes on to describe the surrender of, first Typaneiai, then Hypana, then Lepreon, then Samikon, and finally Phrixa(i), Stylangion, Epe(i)on, Bolax, Pyrgos, and Epitalion, all of which sent embassies μεθ' ἱκετηρίας to Philip. Accordingly, the presumption is that the Triphylians were not united politically.

The last thing to be noted is that Polybios consistently describes the Triphylian communities as *poleis*. The list at 4.77.9 is explicitly a list of *poleis*,¹⁷ and although the Triphylian communities are not among the best documented of ancient Greece we can, I think, show that Polybios' classification of these communities as *poleis* was correct. Admittedly, Bolax and Stylangion are known exclusively from Polybios, and so we cannot test his information in these cases. Likewise, there is no other Hellenistic material to illuminate the political status of Epe(i)on, and the same is true of Epitalion.

However, six of the nine communities catalogued by Polybios at 4.77.9 are listed in the long Delphic catalogue of *theorodokoi* dating to the late third century (ca. 230–210).¹⁸ This clearly supports Polybios' site-classification, and in three cases we even have some additional material.

The evidence for Lepreon is reasonably good. Polybios describes the city as a *polis* again in 4.80.1*bis*, 2, 3, 5, and 7, and uses the collective city-ethnic five times.¹⁹ He also relates how the city sent an embassy to the Macedonian king Philip V.²⁰ The ethnic is found in the individual use in a third-century catalogue of names found in Arkadian Phigaleia,²¹ and in the second century a citizen of Lepreon was awarded Delphic *proxenia*.²² Typaneiai is described as a *polis* by Polybios again at 4.79.4, in a passage where he also uses the collective city-ethnic, οἱ Τυπανεῖται. The ethnic of Hypana is attested on the bronze coinage inscribed ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΥΠΑΝΩΝ which the city struck as a member of the Achaian Confederacy.²³ There can be no reasonable doubt that Lepreon, Typaneiai, and Hypana were *poleis*, and Samikon, Pyrgos, and Phrixa(i) were probably *poleis* too. We can thus accept Polybios' classification of the Triphylian communities as *poleis*.

To sum up: according to Polybios, Triphylia was the southwestern part of Arkadia along the Ionian Sea between Elis and Messenia, and took its name from Triphylos, a son of Arkas. The area was subdivided into a number of *poleis* which in 219 were not politically united among themselves. In other words, in Polybios Triphylia is essentially a geographical concept.

17 ἔχει δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις ταύτας.

18 For the date, see Perlman (1995) 130. *Theorodokoi* are attested in: Hypana (Oulhen [1992] p. 43 l. 82), Typaneiai (Oulhen p. 43 l. 83), Lepreon (Oulhen p. 43 l. 86), Pyrgos (Oulhen p. 43 l. 89), Phrixa(i) (Oulhen p. 43 l. 91), Samikon (Oulhen p. 43 l. 93).

19 Polyb. 4.80.1, 3, 4, 5, 6. For the collective use of city-ethnics to denote *poleis*, see Hansen (1996a) 192–4.

20 Polyb. 4.80.7.

21 Βάδιμος Λεπρεάτας, see Dubois (1986) Phi. 5.2 at p. 269.

22 *F. Delphes* III.4 173.

23 Head *HN*² 418.

III. Did the concept of Triphylia exist in the fifth century?

I now turn to a consideration of the area in the fifth century and begin by asking what its name was. It seems reasonably certain that its name was *not* Triphylia. Τριφυλία and its derivatives are not attested prior to the fourth century.²⁴ Admittedly, Strabo reports that the designation Triphylia fell into disuse after the area had been conquered by Elis after "the last Messenian war",²⁵ presumably the second. However, this strange statement simply seems to betray the fact that Strabo was not able to find the concept of Triphylia in early sources. The name of the area was, it seems, Ἠλεία. At 5.34.1 Thucydides describes the geographical position of Lepreon like this: Λέπρεον ... κείμενον ἐπὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἠλείας. Lepreon was Triphylian, according to Polybios, and had the name Triphylia existed in the fifth century, we would have expected it to occur here.²⁶ Since Lepreon was the southernmost of the Triphylian communities, we may assume that all the communities north of her were conceived of as situated in Ἠλεία. This assumption finds corroboration in a passage of Diogenes Laertios, who in his life of Xenophon describes Skillous as "a place in Eleia not far from the city."²⁷ Now, Skillous was situated in what became Triphylia,²⁸ and so, on the assumption that Diogenes is drawing on a good source, we may conclude that in the fifth century and even somewhat later the area which was later called Triphylia bore the name Eleia.²⁹

In Polybios' day, as we saw, the Triphylians ranked as Arkadians. What was the ethnic identity of the population in the fifth century? There was, it seems, no firmly established ethnic identity in the area prior to the fourth century. To show

24 See Niese (1910) 13, Siewert (1987–1988) 8.

25 Strabo 8.3.30.

26 It is, actually, difficult to decide whether the expression Ἠλεία here is meant by Thucydides to convey a political or geographical concept; Roy (1997) 000, n. 000 thinks that the expression is purely geographical; Siewert (letter of 2.1 1997) believes that it refers to the "Herrschaftsbereiche ... der Eleer". However, even if Ἠλεία is a constitutional designation it does not follow that the "true" name of the region was *Triphylia*; the obvious passage with which to compare the present is Thuc. 4.3.2 where Pylos is described as ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ ποτὲ οὐση γῆ: here the "true" name of the region is given, a relevant piece of information since it was not the name the region carried in Thucydides' day. So, on balance it seems most likely that Ἠλεία was actually a purely geographical designation.

27 Diog. Laert. 2.52: ἦλθεν εἰς Σκιλλοῦντα, χωρίον τῆς Ἠλείας ὀλίγον τῆς πόλεως ἀπέχον.

28 See Pritchett (1989) 67 and the map above.

29 I may also draw attention to one of the entries on Makiston in Stephanos of Byzantion. At 450.3–4 Stephanos states: Μήκιστον, πόλις Τριφυλίας. Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ. ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη τῆς Ἠλίδος. As Meyer remarks in *RE* XV col. 363 s.v. Μήκιστον: "Die angebliche andere elische Stadt dieses Names ... dürfte dieselbe sein." If so, we have a new testimony to the effect that communities of what was Triphylia in Polybios' day was once thought of as situated in Elis. Now, Makiston is not mentioned by Polybios and the presumption is that it no longer existed in the third century. Thus, the tradition that Makiston was situated in Elis probably refers to the first period of Eleian domination (=the fifth century, see below), and so the idea that the district was called Eleia (or Elis) prior to the fourth century is corroborated.

this, we must go first to Herodotos. The crucial passage is 4.148,³⁰ where he gives a list of Minyan foundations, which includes four communities described as Triphylian by Polybios: Lepreon, Phrixa(i), Pyrgos, and Epe(i)on. Two other communities are listed: Makiston and Noudion. Of these, Noudion is known exclusively from Herodotos, but Makiston is described as Triphylian by a fourth-century inscription.³¹ It is thus reasonable to say that Herodotos' catalogue is a list of cities which later became Triphylian. But if we were to describe the ethnic identity of the area on the basis of Herodotos we would have to describe it as Minyan – not Triphylian or Arkadian. The tradition that these cities were Minyan foundations is obviously part of a myth of origin, which is a constitutive feature of every ethnic group.³² Remarkably, Herodotos' list does not include *all* communities of the later Triphylia, since Bolax, Epitalion, Hypana, Typaneiai, Samikon, and Stylangion are absent as well as Skillous. Of course, some of these may not have existed in the fifth century, but others, such as for example Hypana and Typaneiai, surely did.³³ Since Herodotos' catalogue is explicitly a list of Minyan foundations the presumption is that the communities not included did not rank as Minyan. If this is accepted, then we must conclude that there was no ethnic unity in the area in the fifth century. Finally, we should note that according to Herodotos the Minyans drove the Paroreatai and the Kaukones out of the country before they founded their cities. It thus appears that Herodotos actually knew of three different ethnic groups connected with the area. Accordingly, the fact that he does not use the term Triphylia or any of its derivatives corroborates the idea that the concept of Triphylia did not exist in the fifth century.

The conclusion is that the ethnic identity of the area changed from the fifth century to the third century: whereas in the third century the inhabitants of Triphylia were Arkadians, there was no ethnic unity in the area in the fifth century, and we can only identify a Minyan ethnicity, which did not embrace all communities of the district. Moreover, even Minyan identity seems not to have been firmly rooted. Thus Pherekydes described Phrixa(i) – a Minyan community according to Herodotos – as Arkadian.³⁴ Furthermore, the list of Lykaon's sons found in Ps.-Apollodoros 3.8 is often thought to derive from a fifth-century source.³⁵ Now, Lykaon is one of the key-figures in the Arkadian myth of origin,³⁶

30 Hdt. 4.148.4: οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν (sc. the Minyans) ἐτράποντο ἐς τοὺς Παρωρεάτας καὶ Καύκωνας, τοὺτους δὲ ἐξελάσαντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἐξ μοίρας διεῖλον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν τάσδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι, Λέπρεον, Μάκιστον, Φρίξας, Πύργον, Ἐπίον, Νούδιον. τουτέων δὲ τὰς πλεῦνας ἐπ' ἐμέο Ἥλαιοι ἐπόρθησαν.

31 See SEG 35, 389.

32 See Smith (1986) 24.

33 See Pritchett (1989) 46–58.

34 See Steph. Byz. 672.13–4: Φρίξα, πόλις <...> “ἡ δὲ Φρίξα κεῖται μὲν τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀπέχουσα στάδια λ’”. Φερεκύδης δὲ Ἀρκαδίας αὐτὴν γράφει (= Pherekydes [*FGrHist* 3] fr. 161).

35 See Callmer (1943) 45–6; van der Valk (1958) 142; Hejnic (1961) 55. No *proof* that the list is Classical (or Archaic) is possible. Callmer argues as follows: the list contains no names which can be connected with Aigytiis, Karyatis, or Skiritis, and thus it must post-date the Spartan annexation of these areas; on the other hand, it contains a name which may be

and it is significant, then, that in this list we find Μακιστεύς, presumably the eponymous hero of Makiston, a Minyan community according to Herodotos. The inclusion of Makiston's eponym among the sons of Lykaon indicates that this city could be conceived of as Arkadian.³⁷ In addition, we find Καύκων, the eponym of the Kaukones, one of the ethnic groups associated with the area by Herodotos. This indicates that the Kaukones, too, could be conceived of as Arkadians.³⁸ We may thus conclude that the process by which the inhabitants of the area ended up being considered Arkadians was already underway in the fifth century.

connected with Achaian Helike, which was destroyed in 373, and thus it must pre-date 373. These arguments, of course, are not compelling, but I think they do carry some weight, especially the observation about "Ελιξ; almost all other sites whose eponym is listed, are *existing* sites such as for example Mantineus → Mantinea, Stymphalos → Stymphalos, Kleitor → Kleitor, Heraieus → Heraia, Pallas → Pallantion etc.; accordingly, it is probable that the list was composed with an eye to the situation in the Peloponnese at the time of its composition. If we accept this as a probable working hypothesis, we may point out a) that Akontion and Makaria, Parrhasian communities, whose eponyms Akontes and Makareus are found in the list, probably ceased to exist in the 360s as a consequence of the synoecism of Megalopolis (see e.g. Demand [1990] 113); b) that Makiston probably (for unknown reasons) ceased to exist somewhere in the fourth century (apparently, the sherds found during the excavation of the cemetery at Makiston do not go into the third century, see AAA [1972] 223); c) that Euaimon disappears from our record after the mid-fourth century (Theopompos being the last authority to mention it); if we accept that these places existed at the time of the creation of the list, it must pre-date the Hellenistic period, and in particular it must pre-date 368. Van der Valk believes that the list derives from Hellanikos; the reason is that Hellanikos is known to have given genealogies of this kind, and that he seems to be the source for other information in this section of the *Bibliothēke*. In itself this is of course not a substantial argument. The source might as well be Pherekydes, the principal source of the *Bibliothēke* (see van der Valk [1958] 117–31, and Fraser on p. xix of his introduction to the *Loeb* edition), for Pherekydes is positively known to have treated the descendants of Lykaon (see Pherekydes [*FGrHist* 3] fr. 156); the *Bibliothēke* at 3.8.2 specifically cites Pherekydes for a detail of Arkadian genealogy; as Fraser notes *ad loc.*, the detail for which Pherekydes is cited points to the conclusion that Pherekydes knew some traditions of Tegean origin; now, Hejnic (1961) 55 has pointed out that the list in the *Bibliothēke* shows the influence of local Tegean traditions, and so I would say that Pherekydes is a better suggestion than Hellanikos. The inclusion of the eponymous hero of Makiston may even in a certain sense point to Pherekydes too, for he is known to have described Phrixia(i) as Arkadian (see Steph. Byz. s.v. Φρίξα); but since there was a general tendency to consider the people of Triphylia as Arkadians also in the fourth century, this detail should not be pressed. But, if the list was composed after ca. 370, when the Triphylians became Arkadians (see below), one would have expected more Triphylian sites than Makiston to appear in the catalogue, and if it was composed after the foundation of Megalopolis, it should be expected to reflect this fact, which it does not, at least not compared to the tradition found in Pausanias which Roy (1968) believes to reflect the traditions existing shortly after the foundation. In conclusion, I accept a Classical date for this list as a probable working hypothesis. The *terminus post quem* for the *Bibliothēke* as such is ca. 45 BC, since the work refers to Castor, a contemporary of Cicero; more precision is impossible.

36 See Dowden (1992) 74–5; see also Roy (1968).

37 It is possible that the sculptures from the temple at Makiston are intended to connect the city with Arkadia. See Roy (1997) 316, n. 65.

38 Later tradition made the Kaukones descendants of Arkas, see Eust. *Il.* 1.133.17. Strabo also knew a tradition which made the Kaukones Arkadian, cf. 8.3.17.

Stephanos of Byzantion preserves another tradition which implies that Minyan identity was not securely established in the area. At 428.11–3 he writes: Μάκιστος, πόλις τῆς Τριφυλίας, ἣν ᾠκησαν Καύκωνες, ἀπὸ Μακίστου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Φρίξου, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ Φρίξα πόλις. This passage implies that Makiston and Phrixa(i) – Minyan communities according to Herodotos – were Kaukonian foundations.³⁹ Unfortunately, Stephanos does not give his source for this information, but since he often quotes early writers, such as Hekataios,⁴⁰ Pherekydes,⁴¹ and Hellanikos⁴² for such details, it is not impossible that this tradition goes back to the fifth century. If so, we may sum up like this: whereas in the Hellenistic period the inhabitants of Triphylia were considered to be Arkadians, they were apparently not so considered *in toto* in the fifth century. One group, the Kaukonians, and some cities, such as Makiston and Phrixa(i), were perhaps sometimes considered Arkadian. The only ethnic identity which embraced a larger part of the district was the Minyan, which was apparently not firmly rooted. Another group associated with the district was the Paroreatai. We thus have evidence to the effect that in ethnic terms the population of the area was considered either Minyan, or Kaukonian, or Arkadian, or Paroreatan, and there is no trace whatsoever of a Triphylian identity. This supports the idea that the concept of Triphylia did not exist in the fifth century.

Were the communities of the area politically united among themselves in the fifth century? Let us begin the discussion by considering the case of Lepreon. Lepreon was the only community of the district which fought in the Persian wars. According to Herodotos, Lepreon supplied 200 hoplites for the battle of Plataiai, and the city was duly listed on the Serpent Column in Delphi, in their own right as Λεπρεῖται.⁴³ From this fact we may infer that Lepreon was an independent community and was not subjected to the authority of any political organisation comprising all the communities of the district. This inference is supported by Thucydides' description of how Lepreon passed into dependency upon Elis: πολέμου γὰρ γενομένου ποτὲ πρὸς Ἀρκάδων τινὰς Λεπρεαταῖς καὶ Ἠλείων παρακληθέντων ὑπὸ Λεπρεατῶν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμισείᾳ τῆς γῆς καὶ λυσάντων τὸν πόλεμον Ἠλεῖοι τὴν γῆν νεμομένοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς Λεπρεαταῖς τάλαντον ἔταξαν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ ἀποφέρειν (5.31.2).⁴⁴ Lepreon may well

39 According to Casevitz (1985) 81 οἰκέω in the aorist signifies "la colonisation ancienne d'un pays, en aucun cas la fondation d'une cité". However, in the passage of Stephanos it does seem to imply the foundation of the city of Makiston, but if we accept Casevitz' conclusion that the verb primarily describes "la colonisation ancienne d'un pays", then there is not necessarily any conflict between this tradition and the tradition transmitted by Herodotos, since it is then possible that the Kaukonians were thought of as living at Makiston until they were driven away by the Minyans who then founded (κτίζειν) the city of Makiston. – A similar tradition was known to Strabo, cf. 8.3.16.

40 See Steph. Byz. 206.12–4.

41 See Steph. Byz. 77.9.

42 See Steph. Byz. 201.1.

43 Hdt. 9.28.4; Syll.³ 31.34.

44 "Some time previously Lepreum had been at war with some of the Arkadians, and had gained the alliance of Elis by promising them half their land. At the end of the war the

have undertaken this war against Arkadian⁴⁵ enemies entirely on its own and it seems significant that Thucydides does not report any collaboration between Lepreon and other "Triphylian" communities. Furthermore, the passage shows that Lepreon was entitled to conclude a treaty with a foreign power entirely on its own and that it could dispose of its territory in the way it wanted. In conclusion, in the case of Lepreon we can conclude *e silentio* that the city was not part of any political organisation comprising all the "Triphylian" communities.

There is no comparable evidence for the other communities of the district, but there is reason to believe that the conclusion relating to Lepreon can be generalised to cover the other "Triphylian" cities. It seems clear from Thucydides that by concluding the treaty Lepreon passed into dependency upon Elis, and there is evidence to show that several other communities of the district were Eleian dependencies in the fifth century.⁴⁶ Having listed the Minyan foundations, Herodotos adds: *τουτέων δὲ τὰς πλεῦνας ἐπ' ἐμέο Ἠλεῖοι ἐπόρθησαν* (4.148.4). *πορθέω* can mean "capture", "destroy", "ravage", or "plunder". The verb surely implies aggressiveness on the part of the Eleians, but we cannot know exactly what happened to the cities listed or whether they all suffered the same fate. Noudion, for instance, is never met with after Herodotos and so this site may have been destroyed by the Eleians. But the rest of the cities listed appear in Xenophon's *Hellenika* and later and so they clearly survived the Eleian attacks. For further information about their relations with Elis we must turn to the *Hellenika* of Xenophon.

At the end of the fifth century, or early in the fourth century,⁴⁷ the Spartans decided to settle their score with the Eleians and, as Xenophon puts it, "to bring them to their senses" (*Hell.* 3.2.21–3). They sent to the Eleians and demanded that they leave their *perioikides poleis* free (*Hell.* 3.2.23: ἀφιέναι αὐτοὺς τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις αὐτονόμους). The Eleians refused and the Spartans launched an unsuccessful invasion (*Hell.* 3.2.23–4). A new invasion followed the next year. During this invasion the Lepreatai, the Makistioi, and the Epitalieis seceded from the Eleians and joined the Spartans (*Hell.* 3.2.25: εὐθὺς μὲν Λεπρεᾶται ἀποστάντες τῶν Ἠλείων προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ [sc. king Agis], εὐθὺς δὲ Μακίστιοι, ἐχόμενοι δ' Ἐπιταλιεῖς). This seems to imply that these communities – two of which are listed by Herodotos as Minyan, and all of which are described as Triphylian by Polybios – were in some way bound to Elis, but deserted her at the arrival of the Spartan troops. It also suggests that Lepreon, Makiston, and Epitalion were among the communities referred to at *Hell.* 3.2.23 as Elis' *perioikides poleis*. At the end of this campaign the Spartans left a garrison and a harmost in Epitalion (*Hell.* 3.2.29). Next summer Elis sued for peace which Sparta granted on the condition – among others – that Phrixa(i), Epitalion,

Eleians left all the land to the people of Lepreum to be cultivated by them, and fixed a rent of one talent to be paid to Olympian Zeus" transl. by Warner (1983).

45 Incidentally, the passage shows that Thucydides did not consider the Lepreatai Arkadians.

46 The relations between Elis and her dependencies are treated in detail by Roy (1997), to which I refer the reader.

47 See Tuplin (1993) 55–6.

Epe(i)on and presumably the other communities of the district were left autonomous (*Hell.* 3.2.30–31).

There is a textual problem in Xenophon's report of this condition. The transmitted text reads: τὰς Τριφυλίδας⁴⁸ πόλεις ἀφεῖναι Φρίξαν καὶ Ἐπιτάλιον καὶ Λετρίνους καὶ Ἀμφιδόλους καὶ Μαργανέας. On a strict reading not only Phrixa(i) and Epitalion but also Letrinoi, Amphidoloi, and Marganeis are here classified as Triphylian. However, it appears from *Hell.* 3.2.25 & 29 that these communities were situated north of the river Alpheios; Triphylia is usually thought of as the area south of the Alpheios, and only Amphidoloi is ever explicitly described as Triphylian – by Stephanos of Byzantion who does not give his source.⁴⁹ It is therefore unlikely that Xenophon intended to describe the communities north of the Alpheios as Triphylian. Furthermore, why are Phrixa(i) and Epitalion the only *poleis* south of the Alpheios to be included in the Eleian peace proposal? What about, for example, Lepreon and Makiston, both mentioned at 3.2.25? As transmitted, the text implies that the peace treaty provided for the freedom of Phrixa(i) and Epitalion only. This could, of course, be so because the other communities of the district had been lost whereas the Eleians still held Phrixa(i) and Epitalion. But Epitalion is explicitly mentioned by Xenophon as having been conquered and garrisoned by the Lakedaimonians (*Hell.* 3.2.29), and so this explanation breaks down.

Georg Grote emended the passage by inserting καὶ after ἀφεῖναι: τὰς Τριφυλίδας πόλεις ἀφεῖναι <καὶ> Φρίξαν καὶ Ἐπιτάλιον; he comments: "I incline to believe that the words in his text, καὶ τὰς Τριφυλίδας πόλεις ἀφεῖναι, must be taken to mean Lepreum and Makistus, perhaps with some other places which we do not know; but that a καὶ after ἀφεῖναι has fallen out of the text, and that the cities whose names follow are to be taken as *not* Triphylian. Phrixa and Epitalium were both south, but only just south, of the Alpheus; they were on the borders of Triphylia, and it seems doubtful whether they were properly Triphylian."⁵⁰ This creates a different problem, since it excludes Phrixa(i) and Epitalion – attested as Triphylian by Polybios – from the concept of Triphylia. However, the emendation makes good sense in as far as it makes the treaty provide for the freedom of all the communities of Triphylia.⁵¹ Furthermore, at *Hell.* 6.5.2 Xenophon in a very similar way excludes Skillous – attested as Triphylian by Pausanias (5.6.4, 6.22.4) – from the concept of Triphylia. Grote's emendation of the text leads to the conclusion that in the eyes of the Eleians Epitalion and Phrixa(i) (and probably Skillous as well though the city is not singled out here) were not yet Triphylian in ca. 400 although they became so later. This implies that the concept of Triphylia *did* exist by the late fifth century.

48 This is the first occurrence of any word derived from the stem Τριφυλ- and, as pointed out by Niese (1910) 13, Xenophon may be using it slightly anachronistically here.

49 Steph. Byz. 89.19.

50 See G. Grote, *A History of Greece* (edition of 1888) chap. 72, part two, p. 394–5.

51 The treaty ought to provide for all of Triphylia. In another passage of the *Hellenika* Xenophon states that the treaty deprived Elis of the Τριφύλιοι (7.1.26) and this presumably means all of Triphylia.

Consequently, it must have been created after the date at which Herodotos wrote, around 425, and ca. 400. If so we should connect the appearance of the concept with Lepreon's attested attempt to rid herself of Eleian dominance.⁵² So, with this interpretation, Triphylia did not originally include the settlements immediately south of the Alpheios (Epitalion, Skillous and Phrixa[i]), but they were probably added to Triphylia in consequence of the peace settlement in ca. 400 and were ever since Triphylian.

Tuplin accepts Grote's emendation but concludes that the passage "incorporates a self-contradictory and irrational separation of some Triphylian towns from the rest of their ethnic group."⁵³ With this interpretation, it is indeed very fortunate that Xenophon was careless here, since his mention of Phrixa(i) and Epitalion allows us to conclude that he thought of Triphylia in more or less the same terms as Polybios, that is, as the communities south of the Alpheios. However, it is not very satisfying to accept an emendation by which our authority must be taken to have made a blunder.

It is hard to decide which interpretation is the best. The insertion of καί with Grote's interpretation saves Xenophon from a mistake; it does not, however, redeem him totally since he ought to have mentioned Skillous as well, as he does at *Hell.* 6.5.2. Yet, there he leaves out Epitalion and Phrixa(i)! But, on the whole I incline to accept the text without καί since the Alpheios seems to be a natural boundary. The slight anachronism involved in Xenophon's use of Τριφυλίδες in reference to a peace proposal which ante-dates the creation of Triphylia is not serious since the passage may have been composed in a period when Triphylia was a well-established concept. Furthermore, apart from the points made above, we need not really assume that the transmitted text includes Letrinoi, Amphidoloi and Marganeis in the concept of Triphylia, since we can perfectly well read the text with a comma after 'Επιτάλιον: τὰς Τριφυλίδας πόλεις ἀφεῖναι Φρίξαν καὶ 'Επιτάλιον, καὶ ... : "let go of the Triphylian *poleis* Phrixa(i) and Epitalion, and ..." (sc. in addition). After all, the passage is very condensed and clearly does not aim at comprehensiveness. But it seems impossible to pass a final verdict.

What the status of being Eleian *perioikoi* meant has been explored in detail by Roy (1997). Here I shall just briefly sketch what it meant for the communities of the district in political terms. Siewert has suggested that the *perioikoi* of Elis were in fact *symmachoi* of Elis.⁵⁴ He refers to an unpublished inscription (ca. 500) on which he is working which twice refers to τοῖς Φαλείοι καὶ ἀσυμαχία.⁵⁵ Since Archaic Eleian inscriptions seem rather fond of abstracts such as ἀφράτρα τοῖς Φαλείοις for ἔδοξε τοῖς Φαλείοις *vel sim.*,⁵⁶ and ἀζαμωργία for οἱ δαμιοργοί,⁵⁷ we may take it that this expression equals οἱ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι, and so the phrase is reminiscent of the way in which the Greeks

52 For which see Thuc. 5.31–4.

53 Tuplin (1993) 184.

54 Siewert (1987–1988) 8.

55 Siewert (1987–1988) 7.

56 See *IvO* 2.1, 10.1, 11.1, 16.1.

57 See *IvO* 2.6, 4.6, 16.1, 3.

referred to the Peloponnesian League and the Delian League,⁵⁸ as Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι⁵⁹ and Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι.⁶⁰ Consequently, the inscription suggests that around 500 Elis was the *hegemon* of a league. There is good evidence at hand to suggest that Elis remained the *hegemon* of a league throughout the fifth century. As we have already seen, Lepreon passed into dependency upon Elis by concluding a treaty of *symmachia* with her.⁶¹ Elis was clearly the superior partner in this agreement, for by it Lepreon ceded Elis half her territory.⁶² It also appears from Thucydides that Elis soon began to treat Lepreon as a subject, since she imposed tribute on the city. Lepreon was apparently dissatisfied with this arrangement, for she sought Sparta's support in order to overturn it.⁶³ Furthermore, the alliance concluded between, on the one hand Athens, and on the other Argos, Elis, and Mantinea in 420 was concluded by these cities "for themselves and for the allies under their control".⁶⁴ Elis, then, concluded the treaty on behalf of her allies; since the treaty contains stipulations of potentially great importance for these allies,⁶⁵ the presumption is that the Eleian *symmachoi* were not treated as separate entities in foreign affairs. Since freedom of action in foreign affairs was one aspect of the concept of *autonomia*,⁶⁶ Elis' *symmachoi* were not *autonomoi*. Now, when Sparta wanted to "bring the Eleians to their senses" they demanded that they leave their *perioikides poleis* αὐτόνομοι (*Hell.* 3.2.23). In this respect, then, Eleian *perioikoi* and *symmachoi* were in the same boat, perhaps because they were identical!

Unfortunately, there is no way of identifying the Eleian *symmachoi* referred to in the texts above. It is impossible to *prove* that these *symmachoi* were identical with the communities described as perioikic by our sources.⁶⁷ I may however draw attention to the following: i) it is a safe inference from *Xen. Hell.* 3.2.23 & 25 that Lepreon was among the communities considered to be *perioikoi* of Elis, and the city is actually described as perioikic by Pausanias at 3.8.3. However, as we have seen, Lepreon originally passed into dependency upon Elis by concluding a treaty of *ἑυμαχία* with her; ii) Xenophon's description of the war between Elis and Sparta also suggests that communities such as Lepreon, Makiston, and Epitalion and others described as perioikic were *symmachoi* of Elis. These

58 See de Ste. Croix (1972) 102 and Siewert (1994) 261.

59 See, e.g., *Thuc.* 1.108.1, 2.7.1, 66.1.

60 See, e.g., *Thuc.* 1.109.1, 3.90.3, 6.67.1.

61 *Thuc.* 5.31.1.

62 See also Siewert (1994) 260.

63 *Thuc.* 5.31.3–5. See Siewert (1994) 260.

64 Transl. by Warner (1983). The text reads: ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἑυμάχων ὧν ἄρχουσιν ἑκάτεροι. The use of ἑκάτερος, not ἕκαστος, might be seen as an attempt to indicate that there were only two (Athens – Argos/Elis/Mantineia), not four parties to the treaty; if so, we could not be completely sure that all three cities of the second group had allies; however, in 5.47.5 the phrase is repeated, this time with ἕκαστοι: τῶν ἑυμάχων ὧν ἄρχουσιν ἕκαστοι, and this indicates that every city involved in the treaty had allies.

65 See e.g. *Thuc.* 5.47.5. See also Welwei (1996) 91.

66 See Hansen (1995) 27.

67 For which see Roy (1997) 283–5.

communities, we are told, defected from the Eleians when the Spartans launched their second invasion.⁶⁸ Xenophon uses the verb ἀφίστημι to describe the defection; this verb is often used about defection from a *symmachia*,⁶⁹ and although the use of this verb is in no way *proof* that the defectors were formally *symmachoi*, it is highly indicative, especially since we happen to know that Elis in fact *was* the leader of a *symmachia*. We should thus endorse Siewert's suggestion that the Eleian *perioikoi* had the formal status of *symmachoi*.

To sum up: in the fifth century there was no political unity among the communities of "Triphylia"; on the contrary, they seem all to have been subjected to perioikic status by Elis. This presumably meant that they had been incorporated into a hegemonic *symmachia* by Elis and that they were not entitled to conduct their own foreign policy but had to follow the lead of the Eleians.

Finally, we may note that there is some slight evidence that the Eleians tried to suppress the local identity of their *perioikoi* in connection with the Olympic Games: first, according to Pausanias, victors from Lepreon were regularly proclaimed Eleians in the victory ceremony;⁷⁰ this is often interpreted as an Eleian device to boost the prestige of Elis,⁷¹ but in addition we may see in it a means of suppressing the local identity of Lepreon. Second, a passage in the *Birds* of Aristophanes may be interpreted to mean that the Eleians had in fact succeeded in making Lepreon Eleian in the eyes of other Greeks: The question: "Can you point out a Hellenic *polis* to us?" is answered: "Why don't you go and settle at Eleian Lepreon?"⁷² In the context the joke is on the sound of the name of Lepreon, and the ethnic specification is utterly irrelevant. Nevertheless, it may be indicative that Lepreon is here not described as Minyan, Arkadian, or Kaukonian, but as Eleian. Third, as a territorial term Ἠλεΐα included what we call Triphylia: at 5.34.1 Thucydides describes the geographical position of Lepreon as ἐπὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἠλεΐας. Since Lepreon was the most southerly of Elis' dependencies, it follows that the rest of "Triphylia" was also thought of as being situated in Ἠλεΐα.⁷³ Taken together these three points may be interpreted to indicate that the Eleians in one way or another were trying to suppress the local identities of her *perioikoi* and turn them into Eleians in some sense. In other words, what we can observe in fifth century Eleian history is a region, Eleia, under ethnic formation – the formative processes were, however, ended by the Spartan intervention in the late fifth century.

68 See *Hell.* 3.2.25.

69 See e.g. *Hdt.* 9.106.4: καὶ οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἔτυχον συστρατευόμενοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐποιήσαντο, πίσι τε καταλαβόντες καὶ ὀρκίοισι ἐμμένειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσεσθαι. See also *Thuc.* 5.31.2 & 5.

70 See *Paus.* 5.5.3: ἐθέλουσι μὲν δὴ οἱ Λεπρεᾶται μοῖρα εἶναι τῶν Ἀρκάδων, φαίνονται δὲ Ἠλείων κατήκοι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντες. καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν Ὀλύμπια ἐνίκησαν, Ἠλείους ἐκ Λεπρέου ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνείπε. Pausanias' statement is confirmed by *InvO* 155 of the fifth century: Ἑλλάνικος Ἀλεῖος ἐκ Λεπρέου (a later renewal of the original inscription). See also Roy (1997) 000.

71 See Gschnitzer (1958) 16–7, Roy (1997) 000.

72 *Ar. Av.* 149–50: Ἑλληνικὴν δὲ πόλιν ἔχεις ἡμῖν φράσαι; / τί δ' οὐ τὸν Ἠλεῖον Λέπρεον οἰκίζετον/ ἐλθόνθ';

73 See also above 133 for Skillous and Makiston.

What was the political status of the individual communities of "Triphylia" in the fifth century? Were they organised as *poleis*? Our evidence is exiguous but sufficient to show that they *were* organised as *poleis*. We may profitably begin by studying Lepreon which is the best documented example. As already noted, Lepreon fought at the battle of Plataiai in 479, supplying 200 hoplites; in other words, Lepreon was a member of what modern scholars refer to as the "Hellenic League against Persia".⁷⁴ This is important. The Greeks who defeated the Persian invasion of 480–479 were united among themselves into a symmarchy by an oath whereby they had committed themselves to wage war upon the Persian foe.⁷⁵ This oath was sworn in 481 at a meeting probably called by and held at Sparta.⁷⁶ This meeting was in all probability attended by delegates (called πρόβουλοι) of the states willing to commit their troops to the fight against the Persians. At least, this was the situation in 480 at the second meeting of the League, according to Herodotos.⁷⁷

At the first meeting of the Hellenic League a number of important decisions were taken. First of all, the hegemony of the League forces was, apparently not without negotiations,⁷⁸ conferred upon the Lakedaimonians.⁷⁹ Secondly, it was resolved to end all wars between League members, to send intelligence agents to Asia Minor, and embassies to Argos, Sicily, Korkyra and Crete in order to have forces from these areas join the League.⁸⁰ It was probably also at this meeting that an oath was sworn by which the League members committed themselves to exact revenge from states which medised "unless by force of necessity".⁸¹

It seems that no permanent machinery for regular consultations among the League members was set up.⁸² However, the League members sent delegates to a second meeting at the Isthmos in 480,⁸³ to decide on the overall plan for the conduct of the war. The actual strategy was left to the Lakedaimonian commander-in-chief, who devised it in collaboration with the leaders of the allied contingents.⁸⁴

It is rather obvious that a community that joined the League had to be organised as a state: a League member had to be able to select its own representatives empowered to reach decisions which were binding on the

74 The organisation did not have a name; see Brunt (1953) 145–6.

75 See Brunt (1953) 137–8. Herodotos does not record the content of the oath, but at 7.148 he describes the Greeks as οἱ συνωμόται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ.

76 Brunt (1953) 148; that the meeting was held at Sparta is stated by Paus. 3.12.6.

77 See Hdt. 7.172.1 (quoted below).

78 See Hdt. 8.2.2–3.1, with a reference to a debate over the naval hegemony.

79 Hdt. 7.148–49, 158–62, 8.2–3; Brunt (1953) 138–9.

80 Hdt. 7.145.2.

81 Brunt (1953) 136–7; the oath is summarised by Hdt. 7.132.

82 Brunt (1953) 140.

83 Hdt. 7.172.1; Brunt (1953) 139–40. According to Brunt (1953) 140 this second meeting at the Isthmos is the last of which we hear; however, one may feel that the meeting in Sparta described at Hdt. 9.7ff. was a third League congress. The meeting was attended by ambassadors from at least Athens, Megara, Plataiai and Tegea and perhaps others (see 9.10.1).

84 Brunt (1953) 140–41; a council of war is described, e.g., at 8.49.2ff.

community, had to be able to raise troops and to provide commanders for these troops.⁸⁵ In fact, Herodotos' standard designation of the allied communities is πόλις. Let me give just one example, 7.172: ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἦσαν ἀλισμένοι πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀραιρημένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολιῶν τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεουσέων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, a reference to the League as such, that is, among others to Lepreon. The conclusion is that Lepreon was organised as a state, that is, as a *polis*, in 479 at the latest. The ethnic of Lepreon is found in the collective plural on the Serpent Column,⁸⁶ and this supports the conclusion that Lepreon was a *polis*.⁸⁷ Both Herodotos and Thucydides classify Lepreon as a *polis*, Herodotos in the urban sense (4.148.4), and Thucydides in the political sense (5.31.5). From Thucydides it also appears that Lepreon was in possession of her own territory,⁸⁸ and that the city was entitled to conclude a treaty with Elis (see above). Finally, Lepreon was, according to Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23 & 25, an Eleian perioikic community and Xenophon explicitly describes the perioikic communities as *poleis*.⁸⁹ It is, then, certain that Lepreon was a πόλις.

At 4.148.4 Herodotos classifies Epe(i)on, Makiston, Phrixa(i), Pyrgos, and Noudion as *poleis* in the urban sense. It has been demonstrated by Hansen that Herodotos' use of the term *polis* conforms to the ordinary Archaic and Classical usage of the term, which means that with only two demonstrable exceptions he uses the term in the urban sense to denote only the urban centre of a town which was also a *polis* in the political sense.⁹⁰ We may then assume that these five cities were *poleis* in the political as well the urban sense. This assumption is strongly supported by the fact that Lepreon also appears in Herodotos' list and was demonstrably a *polis* in the political sense. But apart from that there is not much corroborative evidence. Xenophon classifies Epe(i)on as a *polis* twice at *Hell.* 3.2.30, presumably in the urban sense; but since Xenophon uses the term *polis* like Herodotos the presumption is that he thought of Epe(i)on as a political community too, and this is supported by the context which shows that Epe(i)on was constituted as an *autonomos* community after the war between Sparta and Elis (*Hell.* 3.2.31).⁹¹ Phrixa(i) and Epitalion (which is not listed by Herodotos) were among the *perioikides poleis* of Elis too and are referred to again as *poleis* by Xenophon at *Hell.* 3.2.30, and again, they must have become *autonomoi* after the war. Xenophon also uses the collective city-ethnic of Epitalion (*Hell.* 3.2.25). In the case of Makiston, the collective ethnic is attested in Xenophon (*Hell.* 3.2.25), and in the *Anabasis* we find the ethnic used as part of a personal name,

85 Although the hegemony of the League as such was held by Sparta, each allied contingent was under the command of officers provided by their own state; see, e.g., Hdt. 7.204 (commanders from, among others, Tegea, Mantinea and Orchomenos) and 9.77 (commanders from Mantinea).

86 *Syll.*³ 31.34. In addition, the ethnic is attested in Hdt. 9.28.4, Thuc. 5.31, Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25, all referring to the fifth century.

87 See Hansen (1996a) 192–4.

88 See 5.31.2, and 31.3: οἱ Ἡλεῖοι ... Λεπρεατῶν τὴν γῆν ἔτεμον.

89 See *Hell.* 3.2.23, 30^{ter}.

90 See Hansen (1996b) 39–54.

91 See Nielsen (1995) 88.

Σιλανὸς Μακίστιος (7.4.16). It is furthermore reasonable to assume that Makiston was among the communities referred to as *perioikides poleis* (cf. *Hell.* 3.2.23 & 25). The conclusion is that Epe(i)on, Epitalion, Lepreon, Makiston, Noudion (if it still existed), Phrixa(i), and Pyrgos were *poleis* by the second half of the fifth century.

All the sources just discussed are external to the region, and it may thus be claimed that by following them and concluding that the “Triphylian” communities were *poleis* in the fifth century we are imposing an outsider’s view on the political structure of the district. There is, however, one remarkable source originating from the district itself which classifies a community of the area as a *polis*. An inscription from Olympia dated to ca. 450–425 refers repeatedly to Skillous as a *polis* in the political sense and testifies to the existence of a board of local officials.⁹² It furthermore employs the ethnic Σκιλλούντιοι.⁹³

Let me sum up the discussion of fifth-century “Triphylia”. In the fifth century, “Triphylia” was not – as in the Hellenistic period – a part of Arkadia, but rather a part of a region called Ἠλεΐα and dominated by the Eleians. The cities of the district were organised as *poleis* and identifiable *poleis* are Epe(i)on, Epitalion, Lepreon, Makiston, Noudion, Phrixa(i), Pyrgos, and Skillous. There was no political unity among the *poleis* of “Triphylia”, at least not until the very end of the century (accepting Grote’s καὶ at *Hell.* 3.2.30); on the contrary, all, or at least those about which we have any information, had been subjected by Elis to the status of *perioikoi*. The political machinery through which Elis dominated her dependencies was probably a hegemonic league, and the members were deprived of their freedom of movement in foreign affairs. Neither was there any ethnic unity among the populations of the area. Some cities seem to have thought of themselves as Minyan, but we also find groups such as Kaukonians and Paroreatans associated with the district, and even the Minyan identity seems not to have been firmly rooted; at least, there are indications that some of them were considered Arkadian or even Kaukonian. On this background it is perhaps not surprising that there are also a few indications that Elis was trying to create an Eleian identity for her subjects. If a Triphylian identity came into existence in the fifth century, it can only have developed late in the period.

IV. Triphylia in the fourth century

It is by now clear that a number of major changes took place in Triphylia between the fifth and the third century. It was probably the fourth century which saw these changes and it was in this period that the concept of Triphylia was created. We meet it for the first time in Xenophon’s description of the peace concluded between Sparta and Elis in ca. 400 by which Elis was deprived of her *perioikoi*.

⁹² *IvO* 16 = Koerner (1993) no. 44; see Koerner’s comments 130.

⁹³ Koerner (1993) no. 44 ll. 9–10, 11. In *IvO* 930, the ethnic has been restored (Σκι[λλόντιοι]); the inscription is found on a bronze vessel dating to the mid-fifth/early fourth century, see Siewert (1991) no. 10.

Xenophon here uses the expression Τριφυλίδες πόλεις but as pointed out by Niese, this usage is probably slightly anachronistic.⁹⁴ Of course, Triphylia could not have come into existence before the perioikic communities had been liberated from Elis; even if we accept that Triphylia was created in the late fifth century, we must connect this with a gradual loosening of Eleian control. It is certain that the concept was created before 394, for according to Xenophon the Τριφύλαιοι supplied the Spartans with hoplites for the battle at Nemea (*Hell.* 4.2.16), and there is no reason to assume that the use of Τριφύλαιοι in this passage is anachronistic. The first certain occurrence of the toponym Τριφυλία is in Demosthenes whose speech was delivered in the late 350s.⁹⁵ The ethnic Τριφύλιος is attested several times in the collective use in the first half of the century;⁹⁶ as part of a personal name the ethnic is found only once, on a gravestone from Attika dating to the second half of the fourth century;⁹⁷ the deceased was then probably born in the first half of the century. There can thus be no doubt that the concept of Triphylia was in existence in the first half of the fourth century, and considering what we know about the district in the fifth century it is a safe conclusion that it was a new concept.

What did the new concept cover? Here we must distinguish between three different aspects of the concept: 1) the ethnic aspect, 2) the political aspect, and 3) the geographical aspect.

1. Triphylia as an ethnic concept. One of the features by which modern analysts identify ethnic groups in the historical record is the existence of a collective proper name.⁹⁸ As we have already seen, the designation Τριφύλαιοι is attested in the first half of the fourth century and it must surely have been used as the collective name of the population inhabiting Τριφυλία. The single most important constitutive feature of an ethnic group is, however, the existence of a myth of common origin for its members; such a myth does not concern itself "with actual descent, but with the sense of imputed common ancestry and origins."⁹⁹ In the ancient sources we find two different, but not *necessarily* incompatible accounts of the origin of the Triphylians: i) that they were descendants of Triphylos, and ii) that they had been created by a union of three pre-existing peoples.¹⁰⁰

Re i: As we saw above, Polybios explicitly states that the name Τριφυλία was derived from that of Τρίφυλος, a son of the Arkadian eponym Arkas. This tradition goes back at least to the year 369. In this year the Arkadian Confederacy dedicated a large sculptural group at Delphi celebrating the invasion of Lakonia

94 Niese (1910) 13.

95 See Dem. *Pro Megalopolitanis* 16; Aristotle may have used the toponym (see frag. 493 [Rose]), and so may Ephoros (see [FGrHist 70] fr. 115), but both are paraphrased by Strabo, and so we cannot be sure.

96 See SEG 35, 389; SEG 40, 392; Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16, 6.5.2, 7.1.26.

97 IG II² 10461 (Μαρσύας Ἀνδροκλέους Τριφύλιος).

98 Smith (1986) 22.

99 Smith (1986) 24.

100 Steph. Byz. 638.4 may preserve a trace of a third myth, since he explains the name of Triphylia on the basis of Τριφύλη, the mother of Klytios, Eleian figures.

which occurred that year. The accompanying epigram proudly proclaims the mythical genealogy of the Arkadians, and Triphylos is mentioned as a son of Arkas (though by another mother than his other sons),¹⁰¹ and one of the sculptures represented Triphylos. In addition to Triphylos, the epigram mentions Apheidias, Elatos, Azan and Erasos as sons of Arkas. These figures are connected with different local districts in Arkadia. Thus, Apheidias is connected with southeastern Arkadia, especially with Tegea,¹⁰² and Azan is the eponym of the Azanians of northern Arkadia and connected specifically with Kleitor;¹⁰³ Elatos is connected with Mt. Kyllene and Stymphalos,¹⁰⁴ whereas Erasos is presumably somehow connected with Orchomenos.¹⁰⁵ Accordingly, the inclusion of Triphylos among the sons of Arkas is a statement to the effect that the Triphylians were Arkadians and Triphylia a district in Arkadia. In other words, the genealogy explains the origin of the Triphylians by incorporating them into the Arkadian myth of origin.

Re ii: According to Polybios, Triphylia took its name from Triphylos. But obviously, Triphylos is a construct on the basis of the name of the people, Τριφύλιοι, created in order to make a specific statement.¹⁰⁶ We must, then, ask how the name Τριφύλιοι/Τριφυλία was explained. As is well-known, Strabo explained the name as having arisen from the union of three pre-existing tribes,¹⁰⁷ and modern scholars tend to accept this explanation as correct.¹⁰⁸ There was, however, no agreement among ancient scholars about the identity of the uniting tribes, and unfortunately all our sources on this question are late. The "tribes" mentioned by our sources are the Epeioi, the Minyans, the Eleians, the Arkadians and the Pyliai,¹⁰⁹ whereas Nilsson prefers to identify them with the three groups connected with the district by Herodotos, the Minyans, the Kaukones and the Paroreatai.¹¹⁰ If we accept the idea that the name refers to a union of three tribes it does not really matter, in the present context, exactly which tribes were supposed to have united, since all those proposed were in one way or another connected with the district. What matters is that with this explanation the name is intended to explain the origin of the Triphylioi.

If the concept of Triphylia was really new we may assume that it would have needed justification through a myth of origin and preferably one which projected its origin way back in time. It is thus not a valid objection against the idea of a new concept that "in der historischen Zeit gibt es in dieser Gegend keine Stämme mehr, sondern nur autonome Gemeinden. Deshalb muß ein Name, der die Existenz

101 See *CEG* II 824.7. Later in the inscription this point is *not* stressed, cf. l. 13 & 18.

102 See *RE* I col. 2713–4; Nilsson (1951) 79.

103 See *RE* II col. 2638; Nilsson (1951) 79.

104 See *RE* V col. 2241.

105 See *IG* V.2 ix.93.

106 See Nilsson (1951) 79–80, Larsen (1968) 189–90.

107 Strabo 8.3.3: Τριφύλιοι δ' ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος, ἀπὸ τρία φύλα συνελθυσθέναι.

108 See Bölte (1939) 186; Nilsson (1951) 79; Siewert (1987) 276.

109 See Bölte (1939) 186 for refs.

110 See Nilsson (1951) 79.

von drei Stämmen voraussetzt, sehr alt sein.”¹¹¹ What is needed is only that tradition associated such tribes with the area, and Herodotos clearly knew of at least three different groups associated with the area. It is thus perfectly possible that Triphylia was a new ethnic concept and, considering what we know of the district prior to ca. 400, it is even highly likely. It should thus be concluded that there is good reason to believe that the ancients were correct in deriving the name ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος, as Strabo says.

It may be objected that the two different explanations of the Triphylian origin are in conflict with each other, since no. i claims that they descended from Arkas, whereas no. ii claims that they originated in a different way. There is nothing exceptional in this,¹¹² but we may note the following: if Τρίφυλος was actually a construct designed for a specific purpose and derived from the name of the people, then no. i is a secondary development, and no. ii must be primary. We can thus suppose that no. ii developed contemporaneously with the concept of Triphylia, that is, in the 390s. The development of no. i may have been eased by the fact that both the Kaukones and the Paroreatai and even some of the individual communities of the area were already by ca. 400 associated with Arkadia.¹¹³ The development of no. i will have added to no. ii an element claiming common ancestry which no. ii may be said to lack.

We may conclude that Triphylia possessed two of the constitutive features by which we can identify ethnic groups: a collective proper name and a mythical complex explaining its origin. But it may have possessed more such features. Smith singles out a distinctive shared culture as another marker of ethnic groups and one of the most common traits of such a culture is religion. In a Greek context we can thus reasonably look for cults which are intimately connected with a certain group. The Triphylians may have possessed such a cult. According to Strabo, the cult of Poseidon Samios at Samikon was shared by all Triphylians.¹¹⁴ Unfortunately, the date of the institution of this pan-Triphylian cult is unknown, and more detail is impossible.¹¹⁵ Finally, a sense of solidarity is characteristic of ethnic groups. As we shall see below, the creation of a Triphylian state around 400 may be said to exemplify Triphylian solidarity.

Summing up, we may conclude that the Triphylians after ca. 400 can be considered to constitute an ethnic group: they possessed a collective proper name, a myth of origin, perhaps a common cult, and – as will appear shortly – they made this ethnic identity the basis of a political organisation.¹¹⁶

111 Bölte (1939) 186.

112 See Smith (1986) 25.

113 See above 134–5, and Nilsson (1951) 79.

114 See Strabo 8.3.13: τὸ μάλιστα τιμώμενον τοῦ Σαμίου Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ... ἐπεμελοῦντο δ' αὐτοῦ Μακίστιοι. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκχειρίαν ἐπήγγελλον, ἣν καλοῦσι Σάμιον. συντελοῦσι δ' εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν πάντες Τριφύλιοι.

115 It seems, however, safe to assume that the cult must have existed in the Classical period, if it was administered by Makiston, a city which presumably did not survive into the Hellenistic period (see *supra* n. 35). But it may, of course, have existed *earlier* as well.

116 If there were differences in dialect within Triphylia this did not, apparently, constitute an

2. *Triphylia as a political concept.* As we have seen, both in the fifth century and in the Hellenistic period Triphylia was subdivided into a number of *poleis* among which there was no political unity. What was the political organisation of the district in the fourth century? Although our evidence for the individual communities of Triphylia is very sparse, it does seem that in the fourth century they were, like in the fifth and third centuries, organised as *poleis*. The crucial evidence comes from Xenophon which is very fortunate since he himself lived for a time in Triphylia and can, therefore, be considered a reliable source. As we saw above, Xenophon describes the perioikic communities of Elis as *poleis* in connection with Sparta's dissolution of the Eleian perioikic empire ca. 400; he also, in a slightly anachronistic way, uses the expression Τριφυλίδης πόλεις at *Hell.* 3.2.30 and this implies that he considered the communities of Triphylia to have been *poleis* after the creation of the concept of Triphylia, which is extremely important. In connection with the negotiations for a Common Peace in Athens in 371 Xenophon narrates how the Eleians refused to take the oath because that would mean a recognition of the independence of Marganeis, Skillous and the Triphylians; these *poleis*, the Eleians claimed, were theirs.¹¹⁷ This implies that Xenophon was prepared to think of Skillous as a *polis*. This is duly confirmed by *Anabasis* 6.3.9–10 where Xenophon twice refers to the people of Skillous as πολῖται. The *Hellenika* passage may also imply that Xenophon thought of Triphylia as subdivided into *poleis* as he did at 3.2.30.¹¹⁸ In another passage, which refers to the 360s, Xenophon describes the communities detached by the Spartans from Elis ca. 400 as *poleis* and it is clear from the context that the Triphylian communities are among those referred to.¹¹⁹ Accordingly, we may conclude that Triphylia was subdivided into *poleis* in the period ca. 400–360s.¹²⁰

It is, however, certain that the Τριφύλιοι as such also constituted a political unit. This is proved by two important inscriptions, usually dated to the period 400–369. The most straightforward of them is SEG 40, 392 which reads:

Θ[εο]ί. ἔδωκαν τοῖς Τριφύλιοις Πυλάδα καὶ Γνάθωνι καὶ
Π[ύ]ρῳ πολιτείαν καὶ ἀτέλειαν πάντων αὐτοῖς
καὶ γένει. Δαμιοργοὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ Ὀλυμπιόδωρον.

obstacle to the emergence of an ethnic identity which is not surprising since language was presumably not a vital factor in the mapping out of intra-Hellenic ethnic identities; see Hall (1995). It is, however, not certain whether there were significant dialectal differences within the area dominated by Elis, see Striano (1991). Also, it was clearly no obstacle to the Triphylians' becoming Arkadian (for which see more below) that their dialect was not Arkadian.

117 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2: Ἡλεῖοι δὲ ἀντέλεγον ὥς οὐ δέοι αὐτονόμους ποιεῖν οὔτε Μαργανέας οὔτε Σκιλλουντίους οὔτε Τριφυλίους. σφετέρας γὰρ εἶναι ταύτας τὰς πόλεις. For the strange distinction between Triphylia and Skillous, see Tuplin (1993) 183–5.

118 For πόλις about an organisation comprising *poleis*, see Nielsen (1995) 87 and Hansen (1997) 10.

119 Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.26 (quoted below).

120 Siewert (1987–1988) takes it for granted that Triphylia ca. 400–371 was subdivided into *poleis*, see, e.g., 7, 9, 10.

The body called τοὶ Τριφύλιοι must be an important organ of state, probably an assembly. The phrase Δαμιοργοὶ κτλ. is a dating formula and as such shows the existence of an eponymous official who was the head of a board, which was probably an executive organ of state just like the *damiorgoi* of the Arkadian Confederacy is supposed to have been.¹²¹ The *ateleia panton* which is granted may be taken to indicate that the Triphylian state levied taxes.

But the important grant is of course the grant of *politeia*, citizenship. Siewert comments that “da hier keine Untergliederung der Bürger genannt ist, bedeutet πολιτεία die Zugehörigkeit zum (Gesamt-)Staat der Triphylier”,¹²² and this is probably correct. Thus this inscription shows the existence of a Triphylian assembly, a Triphylian executive under an eponymous official, the levying of taxes and the existence of Triphylian citizenship.

The other inscriptions, *SEG* 35, 389, is a little more difficult to interpret. It runs:

ἔδοξε τοῖς Τριφυλίοις. ὅσσοι ἐν τῷ πίνακι ἐνηγγράφονται, Μακιστίοις ἡμεν. αἱ δὲ τίς συλαία τὰς πολιτείαν αἴτε ἐκ τελέων ἀποστέλλοι δικαίως πολιτειομένοις καὶ κατὰ τὸν <νόμον>, ἀσεβήτω πὸς τὰς Ἀθῆνας. Δαίμαχος δαμιωργὸς, κατακώω Ἀγησιδάμω, Δίω μὴνός [a list of names follows].

Here the assembly and the eponymous *damiorgos* appear again, this time joined by a *katakoos*; whether this is a Triphylian or local Makistian official is impossible to decide.

Siewert believes that Makiston was a civic subdivision (a *phyle*) in the “(Gesamt-)Staat der Triphylier.”¹²³ However, as we have seen, Makiston was a *polis* in the fifth century, and there is good reason to believe that Triphylia was subdivided into *poleis* 400–360s. The presumption is that Makiston was not just a civic subdivision, but a *polis*. Thus, in contradistinction to the first grant of *politeia*, the present one is best interpreted as a grant of citizenship in the particular *polis* of Makiston. Such a grant of citizenship in a particular city by a larger organisation seems to be rare, but is not entirely unparalleled.¹²⁴ If we accept that the grant is one of citizenship in the *polis* of Makiston, then we must conclude that the *poleis* of Triphylia were not *autonomoi* in every respect since the right to control admission to one’s own body of citizens was one aspect of *autonomia*,¹²⁵ and that the τέλεα (“magistracies”)¹²⁶ and the νόμος referred to probably are institutions of the *polis* of Makiston, not Triphylian institutions.

In Triphylia, then, there was both local and regional citizenship, and both local and regional political institutions. Or in other words, the Triphylian state strongly resembled a federation.

121 See Larsen (1968) 187.

122 Siewert (1987) 276.

123 See Siewert (1987) 276.

124 See Rhodes (1995) 108.

125 See Hansen (1995) 27 with note 28.

126 See Siewert (1987) 276.

The inscriptions prove that the Τριφύλαιοι formed a political organisation and that this organisation fulfilled certain internal functions. However, it is clear from Xenophon's *Hellenika* that the organisation also conducted foreign policy. For instance, it appears that it was the Triphylians as such who provided a contingent of hoplites for the battle of Nemea in 394;¹²⁷ accordingly, the Triphylians as such must have been members of the Peloponnesian League.¹²⁸ Furthermore, it can be deduced from Xenophon that the Triphylians as such were a party to the Common Peace concluded in Athens in 371.¹²⁹ Finally, it is probable that the Triphylians as such were members of the Arkadian Confederacy.¹³⁰

To sum up, it is almost certain that in the period of ca. 400–360s the political structure of Triphyly was the following: the district was subdivided into a number of local communities which were organised as *poleis*. Together (some of?) these *poleis* formed a political organisation called Τριφύλαιοι which fulfilled both internal functions, such as the levying of taxes, and external functions such as the conducting of foreign policy. This organisation must have been formed from pre-existing *poleis* such as Makiston.

Which *poleis* were members of the new Triphylian state? No fourth-century list of Triphylian *poleis* has been transmitted, and we must piece together a list from different sources. The only community attested as part of the Triphylian state by a Triphylian source is Makiston.¹³¹ Since Makiston appears in Herodotos' list at 4.148, we may suppose that the other *poleis* listed there became member states too. Those listed in addition to Makiston are: Lepreon, Phrixa(i), Pyrgos, Epe(i)on, and Noudion. That Phrixa(i) became Triphylian is indicated by Xenophon *Hell.* 3.2.30, accepting the transmitted text; however, the very same passage also attests Epitalion as Triphylian;¹³² accepting Grote's καὶ at *Hell.* 3.2.30 we must say that Phrixa(i) and Epitalion became Triphylian at an unknown date between ca. 400 and 219 (where they are attested as Triphylian by Polybios). So we cannot simply say that the *Triphylides poleis* were those listed by Herodotos. And, since Triphyly was essentially an artificial and political construct, we have to recognise the possibility that communities outside geographical Triphyly proper became Triphylian, and that communities inside the region did not join the Triphylian state. Thus, Diodorus Siculus describes Lasion as Triphylian,¹³³ and Xenophon

127 Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16.

128 See also Siewert (1987–1988) 8.

129 See Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2. The Eleians did not swear to the peace, obviously because their demand that the Triphylians should not be considered an individual entity was not met. The Triphylians, then, must have taken the oath of the peace.

130 See Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.26: οἱ γε μὴν Ἥλεῖοι ἐπεὶ ἀπαιτοῦντες τὰς πόλεις τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἂς ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφηρέθησαν ἔγνωσαν αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτῶν λόγους ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιομένους, τοὺς δὲ Τριφυλίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀποστάντας περὶ παντὸς ποιομένους ὅτι Ἀρκάδες ἔφασαν εἶναι, ἐκ τούτων αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ Ἥλεῖοι δυσμενῶς εἶχον πρὸς αὐτοὺς. Why would Elis reclaim her former dependencies from the Arkadian Confederacy if they were not controlled by the Confederacy, i.e. members?

131 SEG 35, 389.

132 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30.

133 Diod. 15.77.1: Τριφυλίας χωρίον ὄχυρόν, ὃ προσηγόρευται Λασιῶν. This is "unsinnig" according to Bölte (1939) 187; it is, presumably, a slip by Diodorus.

mentions Skillous in a way which could be interpreted to mean that the city was *not* Triphylian.¹³⁴ As we saw, Polybios' concept of Triphylia is an exclusively geographical concept, and so we cannot simply retroject his information back into the fourth century.

So the only securely attested Triphylian *polis* is Makiston, whereas the affiliation of Phrixa(i) and Epitalion is a little doubtful, but on balance it seems probable that they and all or some of the following were Triphylian in the fourth century: Noudion (if it still existed),¹³⁵ Lepreon, Epe(i)on, Pyrgos, and Skillous; but, of course, some or all of the communities attested as Triphylian only in Polybios may have been so already in the fourth century.¹³⁶

What was the motive behind the formation of the Triphylian state? Siewert believes that Triphylia was a Spartan creation intended to supply her Peloponnesian League army with a more sizeable (and therefore more manageable) hoplite contingent than the individual Triphylian *poleis* could supply,¹³⁷ and argues as follows: i) Triphylia is first attested in connection with the Spartan dissolution of the perioikic empire of Elis;¹³⁸ ii) the Triphylian *poleis* were united by Sparta into a "Regionalstaat" since they, in contrast to other Eleian perioikics such as Marganeis and Letrinoi, could supply hoplites;¹³⁹ iii) the Triphylian state was an ephemeral phenomenon and broke down after Sparta's defeat at Leuktra.¹⁴⁰

Re i): As we have seen, it is correct that Triphylia was created after Sparta's intervention against Elis, but from this it does not necessarily follow that it was a Spartan creation. Since the Triphylians may well have wanted to protect themselves against future Eleian aggression the initiative for the formation of the new state may have come from themselves and membership of the Peloponnesian League was an obvious means of furthering such protection. As noted already by Bölte, the persistent theme of Triphylian history is the conflict with Elis.¹⁴¹ There was good reason to fear renewed subjection to Elis, since Elis never relinquished her claim to her former dependencies: the Eleians refused to swear the oath of the second Common Peace in 371, since that would have meant a formal recognition of the loss of Triphylia, among others, and in the early 360s she restated her claim

134 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2: οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες ἔχαιρον τῷ ὄρκῳ. Ἡλεῖοι δὲ ἀντέλεγον ὥς οὐ δέοι αὐτονόμους ποιεῖν οὔτε Μαργανέας οὔτε Σκιλλουντίους οὔτε Τριφυλίους. σφετέρας γὰρ εἶναι ταύτας τὰς πόλεις. Tuplin (1993) 183–5 supposes that Xenophon is simply careless here.

135 It is not attested after Herodotos.

136 Without elaborating the point, Siewert (1987–1988) includes Lepreon, Makiston, Skillous, and Epitalion among the Triphylian communities, which he considers to have been *poleis*. Hypana and Typaneiai surely existed in the Classical period (see Pritchett [1989] 46–58), but since no Classical source mentions them, their status is unknown, and they must be left out of consideration in the present context.

137 Siewert (1987–1988) 10.

138 Siewert (1987–1988) 8.

139 Siewert (1987–1988) 11, ("Periökenstädte, die keine Hopliten stellen konnten").

140 Siewert (1987–1988) 12.

141 Bölte (1939) 199: "Die Politik der Triphylier war zu allen Zeiten bestimmt durch den Gegensatz zu Elis." The perpetual threat represented by the Eleians may perhaps explain why so many Triphylian cities were situated on hilltops which eased defence.

to the former *perioikis*, this time in the Arkadian Confederacy.¹⁴² As we have seen, perhaps already by 244 and certainly in 219 Triphylyia had again been subjected to Elis, and in 146 Triphylyia was incorporated into Elis for good.¹⁴³ So even if Sparta welcomed Triphylyia, the initiative for the new state-formation probably came from the area itself which had good reason to wish unification. That this was so is also indicated by the fact that Triphylyia was not *only* a political concept, but also an ethnic one. The creation of an ethnic identity presupposes the active involvement of the people whose identity is being created. Furthermore, the Triphylian identity survived Sparta's defeat at Leuktra, for it must have existed when the eponym Triphylos was proclaimed as a son of Arkas in Delphi in 369.

Re ii): It is true that the individual Triphylian *poleis* could field hoplites, as is shown by the case of Lepreon who fielded her own contingent at Plataiai in 479,¹⁴⁴ which according to Herodotos comprised 200 troops.¹⁴⁵ But, obviously, the wish for the creation of a more sizeable hoplite contingent can be just as meaningfully ascribed to the Triphylians themselves as to the Spartans.

Re iii): The last securely datable reference to the Triphylian state is at Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2, from which it can be inferred that the Triphylians took the oath of the Common Peace concluded in Athens in 371 after Leuktra; no Triphylian state existed in 219 (see above 131–2). It is, however, difficult to establish the exact date of its disappearance. On the basis of Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2 Siewert, following ultimately Bölte, believes that the Triphylian state broke down somewhat after Leuktra, when Elis is believed to have reconquered some of northern Triphylyia,¹⁴⁶ whereas Lepreon became a member of the Arkadian Confederacy.¹⁴⁷ However, Tuplin has shown that the Xenophontic passage upon which this reconstruction is based does not admit of Bölte's interpretation.¹⁴⁸ It is thus not proved by ancient sources that Triphylyia broke down as a consequence of Leuktra. Neither can we claim that Triphylyia's incorporation into the Arkadian Confederacy would necessarily lead to the dissolution of the Triphylian state, since, for instance, the Mainalians (whose political structure resembled that of Triphylyia a great deal)¹⁴⁹ were members of the Confederacy as Mainalians.¹⁵⁰ However, it is not entirely clear in what way the Triphylians were incorporated into the Confederacy. From Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.26 it is clear that Triphylians as such were members of the Confederacy (see above n. 130). Most scholars believe that, while in the Confederacy, Triphylyia was organised with Lepreon as its centre.¹⁵¹ It is certainly striking that a decree of the Arkadian Confederacy which contains an appendix

142 371: Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2; 360s: Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.26. See also Dem. *Pro Megalopolitanis* 16.

143 Bölte (1939) 200–1.

144 *Syll.*³ 31.34.

145 Hdt. 9.28.4.

146 Siewert (1987–1988) 12, cf. Bölte (1939) 199; Niese (1910) 14 suggests a similar conclusion.

147 Siewert (1987–1988) 12.

148 See Tuplin (1993) 183–5 on Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2.

149 See Nielsen (1996a) 132–8.

150 See, e.g., *IG* V.2 1.16.

151 See Niese (1910) 15, Bölte (1939) 200, Roy (1971) 575.

listing federal officials, records the Triphylian officials under the heading *Λεπρεᾶται*, not *Τριφύλλιοι*, although the Mainalian officials, for instance, are listed under the heading *Μαινάλιοι*.¹⁵² Furthermore, in 367 a certain Antiochos, famed as a pankratiast, served as federal ambassador. According to Pausanias this man was a Lepreatas.¹⁵³ Finally, chapter 44 in the *periplous* of Ps.-Skylax seems to treat most of the coast-line of Triphylia as belonging to Lepreon.¹⁵⁴ Ps.-Skylax' work is not a political hand-book but written as if it were a manual for sailors, and so its evidence should only be treated as a further support for the centrality of Lepreon which seems to appear from the fact that the Confederacy drew its Triphylian officials from that city.¹⁵⁵ That the Confederacy did so must mean either a) that Lepreon represented Triphylia in the Confederacy, perhaps because the Triphylian federation was of a hegemonic nature, or b) that Lepreon was not in the political sense a Triphylian city, or c) that the Triphylian state had disintegrated. I can see no way of deciding between these possibilities.

a) The first possibility explains a good deal of our evidence, but leaves the question of why Triphylia was treated differently from Mainalia; if it is accepted there is no need to suppose that the Triphylian state disintegrated as a consequence of its entrance into the Arkadian Confederacy. Why would Lepreon "represent" Triphylia in the Confederacy? A possible answer is that Lepreon held a position within the Triphylian federation resembling that held by Thebes within the Boiotian Confederacy. The Boiotian Confederacy was dominated by the Thebans who, in contradistinction to the other Boiotian *poleis*, retained their capacity to enter into relations with foreign powers independently of the Boiotian Confederacy.¹⁵⁶ If Lepreon, as is usually supposed, was the leading *polis* of Triphylia she perhaps acted like Thebes and concluded treaties independently of the federation. If so, Lepreon did not really "represent" Triphylia but was a member of the Confederacy in her own right. Alternatively, the Confederacy simply treated "Triphylia" as equivalent to "Lepreon" because for all practical purposes the two entities were the same thing. Thebes and Boiotia will again provide us with a parallel, since our sources often refer to Thebes where we would expect a reference to the Boiotians.¹⁵⁷ But in these cases it is the documents which refer to Boiotia, whereas it is in literature that we find the reference to

152 Cf. *IG* V.2 1.16 & 20.

153 See Paus. 6.3.9. See Bölte (1939) 200, Roy (1971) 575 with n. 40, Dušanić (1970) 297.

154 See Bölte (1939) 200.

155 I may also draw attention to the fact that there was perhaps a doublet in Lepreon of the important pan-Arkadian cult of Zeus Lykaeos (Paus. 5.5.5, for which see Jost [1985] 269). Doublets of this cult are found also at Megalopolis and Tegea. The cult at Megalopolis was, we may reasonably assume, established at the time of synoecism, i.e. ca. 368; Jost (1985) believes that the doublet at Tegea was created ca. 370. If the cult at Lepreon was roughly contemporaneous with these two, then we may take it as another indication that Lepreon was considered to be the centre of Triphylia.

156 See Hansen (1995) 36 with full references in n. 62.

157 See, e.g., Tod, *GHI* 101, a treaty of *symmachia* between Athens and Boiotia, referred to as *Βοιωτοί* in the text; Xenophon, however, describes the treaty as concluded between Athens and Thebes (see *Hell.* 3.5.7–16).

Thebes. In the present case it is an official document which treats Lepreon as a member of the Confederacy. Thus, if we were to choose between the two possibilities outlined, I should prefer to think that it was actually Lepreon, the *hegemon* of Triphylia, who was a member since it is hard to believe that an official *document* would employ the same language as Xenophon. We may then assume that the other *poleis* of Triphylia were dependent on the Arkadian Confederacy through their subjugation to Lepreon.

As a matter of fact, the idea that the other *poleis* of Triphylia were dominated by the Triphylian federation is supported by the observation made above (149) that they were not completely *autonomoi*. With this reconstruction it is unproblematical that Lepreon seems to act on her own.

b) Lepreon is, in fact, a little difficult to fit into the overall picture of a Triphylian state conducting the foreign policy of the region, since it appears to have conducted its own foreign policy. Thus, even though it was probably the Triphylians who swore to the peace in 371, it was the Lepreatans alone who joined Sparta in an attack on Mantinea in 370.¹⁵⁸ It is a possibility that although Lepreon was later considered part of Triphylia as a *geographical concept*¹⁵⁹ the city was not a part of the *political concept of Triphylia* in the early fourth century, but constituted an independent *polis*. This seems perfectly possible from the geographical perspective.¹⁶⁰ This idea will also explain why the Lepreatans seem to have been members of the Arkadian Confederacy in the 360s in their own right.¹⁶¹ However, as already demonstrated, Lepreon was probably the most important *polis* of the area and so she may have acted on her own when she deemed it necessary although formally belonging to the Τριφύλιοι in which case there is no problem.

c) A final possibility is that it was this independent stance on the part of Lepreon which caused the break-down of the Triphylian state. The independent actions by Lepreon noted above are both posterior to the peace of 371, whereas the last recorded act of the Triphylian *state* is connected with exactly this peace; the presumption is that it broke down shortly after. The independent actions on the part of the important city of Lepreon may have contributed to the decline of the Triphylian state. Why would Lepreon go on her own? One possibility is that the Arkadian Confederacy, of which Lepreon became a member, offered a better promise of protection against Elis than did the Triphylian state. However, the first recorded independent action by Lepreon was to join in a Spartan attack on Mantinea, an attack clearly designed to dissolve the newly founded Arkadian Confederacy!¹⁶² So the end of the Triphylian state and the reasons for Lepreon's independent actions must remain shrouded in mystery.

158 See Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11: Λεπρεῖται συνεστρατεύοντο τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ τοῦς Μαντινέας.

159 See, e.g., Polyb. 4.77.9.

160 See the map above.

161 IG V.2 1.20.

162 See Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.10–21.

To sum up: we need not suppose that the initiative for the formation of the Triphylian state came from outside, although Sparta may indeed have assisted; after all, she admitted Triphylia as a member of the Peloponnesian League. We can reasonably conclude that the motive behind the new state was to attain protection against Elis. As long as the Peloponnesian League guaranteed such protection Triphylia remained in the League, but when the League disintegrated Triphylia joined the Arkadian Confederacy; whether that meant the end of the new state is impossible to decide.¹⁶³

3. Triphylia as a geographical concept. As we have seen, the concept of Triphylia is exclusively geographical in Polybios. It appears from Demosthenes that the geographical concept of Triphylia existed at least in the 350s.¹⁶⁴ What did the concept cover in the fourth century? *Probably* the same as in Polybios' day, but since we do not have a good fourth-century description of the area the way of showing this is circumstantial. We may begin by establishing the northern border with Elis. This border was probably constituted by the river Alpheios. At least, in 365/4 when the Arkadians gained control of Olympia, they constituted Pisa as an independent state,¹⁶⁵ and this indicates that the Pisatis was considered to be distinct from Triphylia. The border between these two areas was thus almost certainly the Alpheios.

The eastern border with Arkadia proper must, as in Polybios' day, have run west of Alipheira, for in 368 this city was part of Arkadian Kynouria.¹⁶⁶ When Triphylia was created ca. 400, Messenia was still Spartan territory upon which the new state could hardly encroach. The southern border with Messenia must then have been the river Neda. In other words, Triphylia probably had the same extent in the fourth century as in the Hellenistic period.

Was Triphylia a part of Arkadia in the fourth century? Here we must distinguish between i) Arkadia as an ethnic concept, ii) Arkadia as a political concept, and iii) Arkadia as a geographical concept.

Re i): As we saw above (145–6), the Triphylians must have been considered ethnically Arkadian at least by 369 when their eponym Triphýlos was proclaimed as a son of Arkas in Delphi. However, we have also seen that some rapprochement between communities of fifth-century "Triphylia" and Arkadians can be traced (see above 134–5). What happened in 369 was thus only the culmination of a long process.

163 Siewert has suggested to me (letter of 2.1. 1997) that the treaty of 365 between Pisa, Akroroia and the Arkadian Confederacy (which will be published and discussed by Siewert et al. [1997]) may be taken as an indication the the Triphylian federation no longer existed (because the fragmentary text does not mention it). This does not follow; if, as is almost certain, the Triphylians were members of the Arkadian Confederacy before 365, they will – like the Mainalians for example – be subsumed in the expression 'Αρκάδες.

164 Dem. *Pro Megalopolitanis* 16: νῦν ... φασιν ἐκεῖνοι (sc. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι) δεῖν Ἡλείους μὲν τῆς Τριφυλίας τινα κομίσσασθαι.

165 See Roy (1971) 584.

166 See Paus. 8.27.4; for the value of this passage as a source on historical geography, see Nielsen (1995) 133–4.

Re ii): As we saw above (152–3), Lepreon and the rest of Triphylia joined the Arkadian Confederacy. The Confederacy was founded in 370, and thus this is the earliest date at which Triphylia could have become politically Arkadians. The Confederacy split into two factions in 363, but it is unknown how the Triphylians reacted to this crisis. It is, also, unknown for how long any Arkadian federation persisted after 362 and whether Triphylia was a member of such an organisation after 362. Incidentally, the Triphylians' membership of the Confederacy supplies us with further proof that they were considered ethnically Arkadians, for the Confederacy was ethnically exclusive and admitted as members only Arkadians.¹⁶⁷

Re iii): The chapter on Arkadia in Ps.-Skylax' *Periplus* runs as follows: ΑΡΚΑΔΙΑ. Μετὰ δὲ Ἑλιν Ἀρκαδία ἔθνος ἐστί. καθήκει δὲ ἡ Ἀρκαδία ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατὰ Λέπρεον ἐκ μεσογείας. εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πόλεις ἐν μεσογείᾳ αἱ μεγάλαι αἵδε. Τέγεα, Μαντίνεια, Ἡραία, Ὀρχομενός, Στύμφαλος. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις. παράπλους δὲ τῆς Λεπρεατῶν χώρας στάδια ρ'.¹⁶⁸ This chapter clearly treats Triphylia as a part of Arkadia and in particular Lepreon is treated as Arkadian. So, here is proof that geographically Triphylia became part of Arkadia. But when?

The only indication of when the chapter in Ps.-Skylax was composed is a negative one, namely the striking omission of Megalopolis from the list of the *megalai poleis* of Arkadia. This omission supplies us with a *terminus ante quem* of 371–368. The *terminus post quem* ought to be the 390s, the date at which the Triphylian cities were liberated from Eleian rule and the concept of Triphylia was created. In principle, any date within this period is possible.¹⁶⁹ If Triphylia became a part of Arkadia before the foundation of the Arkadian Confederacy in 370, then the unification must have taken place along purely ethnic and geographical lines, whereas if they became so at or immediately after the foundation of the Confederacy, the political and geographical unification was the final culmination of the ethnic rapprochement which had been going on since the fifth century.

The conclusion is that by the 360s Triphylia was part of both ethnic, political and geographical Arkadia and thus had become Arkadian in every sense of the word.

Let me sum up the discussion of Triphylia in the fourth century. It was a new concept, created in the 390s and made possible by Sparta's liberation of the Triphylian communities which had been Eleian dependencies in the fifth century. The concept was both an ethnic, a geographical and a political one. In the ethnic sense, the Triphylians were a people who ascribed their origin to the unification of three unidentifiable tribes previously connected with the area; they therefore called themselves Τριφύλιοι. Geographically speaking, the new region probably

¹⁶⁷ See Dušanić (1970) 299.

¹⁶⁸ Ps.-Skylax 44, Müller *GGM* I pp. 37–8.

¹⁶⁹ For what it is worth, Diod. 15.77.2 states that in 366, the Arkadians and Eleians had long been at variance concerning Triphylia: ἐκ πολλῶν δὲ χρόνων περὶ τῆς Τριφυλίας ἡμφεσβήτουσαν Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἡλεῖται.

covered or at least came to cover the same area as in the Hellenistic period: from the Alpheios in the north to the Neda in the south with the eastern border with Arkadian Kynouria running west of Alipheira. The political organisation of Triphylia was federal. The district was, as in the fifth century, subdivided into a number of local communities which were organised as *poleis* of which Lepreon was the most important. Most or all of these *poleis* were united in an organisation called Τριφύλιοι, an organisation which was probably dominated by Lepreon. The organisation conducted assemblies, had an executive under an eponymous official, levied taxes, granted citizenship both at a local and a regional level and conducted foreign policy. The organisation was designed to protect its members against Elis and it joined the foreign power which offered the best promise of such protection, at first the Peloponnesian League and later the Arkadian Confederacy. When the Triphylians through Lepreon joined the Arkadian Confederacy their eponym Triphylos was either invented as or now proclaimed as the son of Arkas and this was a statement to the effect that the Triphylians were Arkadians and Triphylia a part of Arkadia. In a text probably antedating 368 Triphylia is described as a part of geographical Arkadia. Consequently, by the 360s Triphylia was Arkadian in every sense of the word.

V. Conclusion

From the fifth century to the Hellenistic period there was in Triphylia a number of communities organised as *poleis*. In the fifth century there was no unity among these *poleis*, be it ethnic or political. On the contrary, those communities of which we have any knowledge were dependencies of the Eleians who had deprived them of their independence and presumably attempted to suppress their individual identities and make them Eleian in one way or another. However, around 400 the Spartans liberated the communities from Eleian rule and they now created for themselves both an ethnic identity and a political organisation of federal character. The motive must surely have been to prevent renewed subjection to Elis. The unit of the new Triphylian state was the pre-existing *poleis* of the area.

We do not know for how long the Triphylian state existed. The traditional view that it disintegrated when the Triphylians joined the Arkadian Confederacy is not supported by any good evidence, but may after all not be far from the truth. By the 360s Triphylia was a part of Arkadia in both the ethnic, geographical and political sense. Triphylia remained a part of Arkadia until Polybios' day, but in Polybios the concept of Triphylia is purely geographical.

Triphylia is thus a remarkable example of a region which existed as an independent unit for perhaps only thirty years, and it is a remarkable example, too, of the way in which an ethnic identity and political organisation could be created in the Classical period. But its brief life as a fully fledged region entitles us to consider it an experiment which was not entirely successful. The integration into Arkadia ended the experiment.

VI. Epilogue

The history of Triphylia provides us with a good example of how small *poleis* struggled to survive politically in the confrontation with powerful neighbours. But since its historical development is reasonably well-documented it is also of great interest as comparative material for the study of other similar groupings of small communities. Of particular interest is a comparative study of the Triphylians and the so-called *tribal states* of Arkadia. The term *tribal state* is used to describe groupings such as the Mainalians and Parrhasians.¹⁷⁰ The designation is, in fact, quite appropriate if by *tribe* we understand a group of people claiming to be related and possessing common cults and political organisations etc., in other words, if by *tribe* we understand an *ethnic group* as defined above (145–7): Classical authors refer to these groups by the collective ethnic as a collective proper name, for instance Μαινάλιοι and Παρράσιοι,¹⁷¹ and both the Parrhasians and the Mainalians had eponymous heroes.¹⁷² It is a fair conclusion that each tribe considered themselves to have a common ancestry. That the belief in their common ancestry was of some importance for the members of the tribes is suggested by the use of ethnics. The different tribal subunits such as for example Mainalian Oresthasion did possess local ethnics, and their inhabitants did use them; for example, an Olympic victor from Mainalian Oresthasion used the local ethnic Ὀρεσθάσιος on his dedication set up in Olympia.¹⁷³ But we also find ethnics derived from the name of the *tribe* used as parts of personal names, both on inscriptions and in literature, for example: Φόρμις Ἀρκὰς Μαινάλιος,¹⁷⁴ Δαμοξενίδας Μαινάλιος,¹⁷⁵ Ἀρηξίων Παρράσιος,¹⁷⁶ and Δάμαρχος Δινύττα Παρράσιος.¹⁷⁷ The mostly private – in contradistinction to official political –

170 See Roy (1972) 43; Roy *et al.* (1988) 180; Nielsen (1995) 132; Roy (1996) 107.

171 See Nielsen (1995) 132 with n. 40.

172 For Παρράσιος, see Pherekydes (*FGHHist* 3) fr. 135b; for Μάιναλος, see Hellanikos (*FGHHist* 4) fr. 162, for which see Nielsen (1995) 132 with n. 40.

173 See *IvO* 147.148. These local ethnics were also used in the plural as the name of particular tribal settlements, see e.g. *SEG* 23, 179 (the Mainalian Διπαέες); *SEG* 11, 1168 (the Kynourian Κοπτόνιοι); Paus. 8.27.5 (relying on at least a Hellenistic source) (the Eutresian Τρικολωνεῖς); Paus. 8.27.5 (the Parrhasian Λυκοσουρεῖς and Τραπεζούντιοι).

174 Paus. 5.27.2 (a private dedication of the early fifth century).

175 *IvO* 158 (a private dedication). See also: *IvO* 164, Ξενοκλῆς Εὐθύφρονος Μαινάλιος (a private dedication); Phlegon (*FrGrHist* 415) fr. 1.29, Τέλλων Μαινάλιος (=Pap. Oxy. 222 col. 1.29) (a list of Olympic victors); Paus. 6.6.1, Νικόδαμος Μαινάλιος (an artist's "signature"); schol. in Ar. *Vesp.* 1191, Ἐφουδίων Μαινάλιος (an Olympic victor). In theory these ethnics could belong to the particular local community Mainalos, but we know next to nothing about this place, not even the form of its ethnic, and in one passage Pausanias phrases a sentence in an unusual way to make clear that his reference is to the particular local community of Mainalos, not the Mainalian tribe. See Paus. 6.8.5, Εὐθυμένης ἐξ αὐτῆς Μαινάλου, with Roy (1972) 49, "i.e. from the particular local community Maenalus rather than the whole tribal territory Maenalia". It is thus unlikely that the ethnics refer to the town rather than the tribe.

176 Xen. *An.* 6.5.1.

177 An inscription of ca. 400 (see Moretti [1959] no. 359) quoted *verbatim* by Pausanias at 6.8.2

contexts in which these ethnics are found suggest that although a political message cannot be completely ruled out, the message which the ethnics are intended to convey is a statement of the nationality, or ethnic affiliation, of the persons carrying the ethnics.

Moreover, it is certain that these ethnic units functioned as states.¹⁷⁸ For one thing, they had defined territories. Thucydides mentions the territory of the Mainalians; it was called Μαιναλία.¹⁷⁹ The territory of the Parrhasians was called Παρρασική,¹⁸⁰ and was described as ἡ γῆ τῶν Παρρασίων by Thucydides,¹⁸¹ and as ἡ χώρα by Xenophon.¹⁸²

Second, armies were raised on a tribal basis; thus the Mainalians fought at the battle of Mantinea in 418.¹⁸³ Third, coins were struck on a tribal basis: the Parrhasians had their own coinage in the fifth century.¹⁸⁴

However, the best evidence to show that the tribes as such functioned as states is provided by the way in which they interacted with foreign powers. In the third quarter of the fifth century the Parrhasians had an alliance of *symmachia* with Mantinea.¹⁸⁵ They probably also had a treaty with Sparta: the Spartans made an intervention and liberated the Parrhasians from what was considered oppressive Mantineian rule, and this intervention was probably based on a treaty between Sparta and Parrhasia.¹⁸⁶ In other words, the Parrhasians were a member of the Peloponnesian League. By her intervention Sparta made the Parrhasians *autonomoi*.¹⁸⁷ Consequently, the Parrhasians were entitled to enter alliances on a tribal basis, and they could be considered a political entity in possession of *autonomia*. In the fourth century the Parrhasians joined the Arkadian Confederacy, as is proved by the fact that they provided two men for the board of oecists who founded Megalopolis, a federal project.¹⁸⁸

At the battle of Mantinea in 418, Mainalians participated on the Spartan side. Thus they were allies of Sparta, that is, a member of the Peloponnesian League. In the fourth century the Mainalians were members of the Arkadian Confederacy and supplied officials for the confederacy on a tribal basis,¹⁸⁹ and, like the

(a private dedication). See also: Phlegon (*FrGrHist* 415) fr. 1.23, [...]ημος Παρράσιος (a list of Olympic victors); Xen. *An.* 1.1.2, Ξενίας Παρράσιος; 4.1.27, Καλλίμαχος Παρράσιος.

178 Roy (1972) 43 states that they "were politically united and formed independent states", at 47 that "each tribe, taken as a whole, acted as an independent state" and he believes that they had a "constitutional structure".

179 Thuc. 5.64.3.

180 Thuc. 5.33.1.

181 Thuc. 5.33.2.

182 Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.28.

183 Thuc. 5.67.1.

184 Head *HN*² 451.

185 Thuc. 5.33.2.

186 Thuc. 5.33.

187 Thuc. 5.33.3.

188 See Paus. 8.27.3.

189 *IG* V.2 1.16.

Parrhasians, they supplied members for the board of oecists when Megalopolis was founded.¹⁹⁰

Clearly, Triphylia may be called a tribal state in the same sense as the term is applied to the Arkadian tribes, since they resembled the Arkadian tribal states a great deal, particularly in the way in which foreign policy was run. This is probably so because foreign policy is the only sphere in which we have good evidence from both Triphylia and the Arkadian tribal states. In other respects we may profitably fill the lacunae in our knowledge about Triphylia by analogy from our knowledge about Arkadia, and vice versa. For instance, it is certain that the foundation of the Arkadian tribal states was a shared ethnic identity and that this mattered to the members of the tribes. So even though our knowledge about Triphylia is exiguous in this respect we may suppose that the newly created identity was of greater significance than appears from our sources.

On the other hand, the Arkadian tribes may support the idea that the Triphylian state was subdivided into *poleis*. The Mainalians, for instance, surely lived in local communities organised as *poleis*,¹⁹¹ and so did the neighbours of the Triphylians, the Kynourians, in all probability.¹⁹² Again, the internal structure of the Mainalian tribal state is completely unknown. Here we may outline the possibilities from our knowledge about Triphylia, and suggest that the Mainalians had a tribal assembly, a tribal executive, and, perhaps, tribal citizenship as well as local citizenship.¹⁹³

Moreover, we may assume that the Arkadian tribal states originally united for the same purpose as the Triphylians: to defend themselves against strong neighbours. The Mainalians, for instance, were neighbours of Tegea and Mantinea both of which were hegemonic *poleis* in a regional context.¹⁹⁴ Finally, it is often assumed that the *poleis* of the Arkadian tribal states developed within and in opposition to the tribes.¹⁹⁵ However, as has become clear, the Triphylian state was created from pre-existing *poleis* and may serve to demonstrate that tribal disintegration is not the only possible model for the emergence of the tribal *poleis* of Arkadia. But, in this question the Triphylians may not be of much value as comparative material since it is not impossible that it was in fact the tribal states of Arkadia that provided them with the model for their new state; they were, after all, neighbours of the Kynourians.

190 Paus. 8.27.2.

191 See Nielsen (1995) 136–8.

192 See Nielsen (1995) 140–1.

193 For local citizenship (in Helisson) see Nielsen (1995) 137.

194 See Nielsen (1996b) 79–87.

195 See Roy (1996).

Additional note on the toponym "Makiston". The toponym is found mostly in oblique cases in the Classical period: Hdt. 4.148.4 gives Μάκιστον in the accusative and Xen. Hell. 3.2.30 Μάκιστον in the genitive; thus the gender is unknown. Strabo has τὸ Μάκιστον at 8.3.18, but τὸν Μάκιστον at 8.3.16; Steph. Byz. at 428.11 gives Μάκιστος without source reference; however, at 450.3 he cites Hekataios (= [FGH Hist 1] fr. 122) for the form Μήκιστον, which tips the balance in favour of the neuter for the fifth century.

Bibliography

- Bölke, F. (1948): "Triphylia," *RE* 7: coll. 186–201.
- Brunt, P. (1953): "The Hellenic League against Persia," *Historia* 2: 135–63.
- Callmer, C. (1943): *Studien zur Geschichte Arkadiens bis zur Gründung des arkadischen Bundes* (Lund).
- Casevitz, M. (1985): *Le vocabulaire de la colonisation en grec ancien* (Paris).
- de Ste. Croix, G.E.M. (1972): *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (London).
- Demand, N.H. (1990): *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece. Flight and Consolidation* (Bristol).
- Dowden, K., (1992): *The Uses of Greek Mythology* (London).
- Dubois, L. (1986): *Recherches sur le dialecte arcadien. II. Corpus dialectal* (Louvain-la-Neuve).
- Dušanić, S. (1970): *The Arcadian League of the Fourth Century* (Belgrade).
- Gschnitzer, F. (1958): *Abhängige Orte im griechischen Altertum* (Münich).
- Hall, J.M. (1995): "The Role of Language in Greek Ethnicities," *PECS* 41: 83–100.
- Hansen, M.H. (1995): "The 'Autonomous City-State'. Ancient Fact or Modern Fiction?" *CPCPapers* 2: 21–43.
- Hansen, M.H. (1996a): "City-Ethnics as Evidence for Polis Identity," *CPCPapers* 3: 169–96.
- Hansen, M.H. (1996b): "Πολιτικὸς πόλις λέγεται (Arist. *Pol.* 1276a23). The Copenhagen Inventory of Poleis and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*," *CPCActs* 3: 7–72.
- Hansen, M.H. (1997): "Πόλις as the Generic Term for State," *CPCPapers* 4: 000–000.
- Hejnic (1961): J. Hejnic, *Pausanias the Perieget and the Archaic History of Arcadia* (Prague).
- Jost, M. (1985): *Sanctuaries et cultes d'Arcadie* (Paris).
- Koerner, R. (1993): *Inchriftliche Gesetzestexte der frühen griechischen Polis*, ed. by K. Hallof (Wien).
- Larsen, J.A.O. (1968): *Greek Federal States. Their Institutions and History* (Oxford).
- Nielsen, T.H. (1995): "Was Eutaia a Polis? A Note on Xenophon's Use of the Term Polis in the *Hellenika*," *CPCPapers* 2: 83–102.
- Nielsen, T.H. (1996a): "Arkadia. City-Ethnics and Tribalism," *CPCActs* 3: 117–63.
- Nielsen, T.H. (1996b): "A Survey of Dependent Poleis in Arkadia," *CPCPapers* 3: 63–105.
- Niese, B. (1910): "Drei Kapitel eleischer Geschichte," in *Genethliakon Carl Robert zum 8. März 1910* (Berlin) 3–47.
- Nilsson, M.P. (1951): *Cults, Myths, Oracles, and Politics in Ancient Greece* (Lund).
- Oulhen, J. (1992): *Les thearodoques de Delphes. I. Texte* (these de doctorat, Université de Paris X).
- Perlman, P. (1995): "Θεωροδοκούντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. Panhellenic Epangelia and Political Status," *CPCActs* 2: 113–64.
- Pritchett, W.K. (1989): *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography. Part VI* (Berkeley).
- rhodes, P.J. (1995): "Epigraphical Evidence: Laws and Decrees," *CPCActs* 2: 91–112.
- Roy, J. (1968): "The Sons of Lycaon in Pausanias' Arcadian King-List," *BSA* 63: 287–92.
- Roy, J. (1971): "Arcadia and Boeotia in Peloponnesian Affairs 370–362 B.C.," *Historia* 20: 569–99.
- Roy, J. (1972): "Tribalism in Southwestern Arcadia in the Classical Period," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 20: 43–51.
- Roy, J. et al. (1988): "Tribe and Polis in the Chora at Megalopolis: Changes in Settlement Pattern in Relation to Synoecism," in *Praktika. 12th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Athens 4.-10. September 1983*, vol. 4 (Athens) 179–82.
- Roy, J. (1996): "Polis and Tribe in Classical Arcadia," *CPCPapers* 3: 107–12.
- Roy, J. (1997): "The *Perioikoi* of Elis," *CPCActs* 4: 282–320.
- Siewert, P. (1987): "Die neue Bürgerrechtsverleihung der Triphylier aus Mäsi bei Olympia," *Tyche* 2: 275–7.

- Siewert, P. (1987–1988): "Triphylien und Akroreia. Spartanische "Regionalstaaten" in der westlichen Peloponnes," in *Praktika. Parartema* 13: 7–12.
- Siewert, P. (1991): "Staatliche Weihungen von Kesseln und anderen Bronzegeräten in Olympia," *AM* 106: 81–4.
- Siewert, P. (1994): "Symmachien in neuen Inschriften von Olympia. Zu den sogenannten Periöken der Eleer," in L.A. Foresti et al. (eds.), *Federazioni e federalismo nell'Europa antica* vol. I (Milan) 257–64.
- Siewert, P. et al. (1997): "Die Symmachien Pisas mit den Arkadern, Akroreia, Messenien und Sikyon. Ein neues Fragment der "arkadische Bündnisstele" von 365 v. Chr.," to appear in *11. Olympiabericht* (1997).
- Smith, A.D. (1986): *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford).
- Striano, A. (1991): "Remarques sur le prétendu sous-dialecte de la Triphylie," in A.D. Rizakis (ed.), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike* (Meletemata 13) 139–43.
- Tuplin, C.J. (1993): *The Failings of Empire. A Reading of Xenophon Hellenica* 2.3.11–7.5.27, *Historia Einzelschriften* 76 (Stuttgart).
- van der Valk, M. (1958): "On Apollodori *Bibliotheca*," *REG* 71: 100–68.
- Walbank, F.W. (1970): *A Historical Commentary on Polybius. Volume I* (2nd edition, Oxford).
- Warner, R. (1983): *Thucydides. History of the Peloponnesian War* (Penguin Classics, 2nd ed. 1983).
- Welwei, K.-W. (1996): "Zur 'Herrschaftsterminologie' in der Quadrupelallianz von 420 v. Chr.," *ZPE* 111: 88–92.

Thomas Heine Nielsen
The Copenhagen Polis Centre

THE *POLIS* OF ASEA.
A CASE-STUDY OF HOW ARCHAEOLOGY CAN EXPAND
OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE HISTORY OF A *POLIS*¹

by

JEANNETTE FORSÉN AND BJÖRN FORSÉN

I. Introduction

Asea, which is situated on the way from Megalopolis to Tegea, is a good example of a smaller Greek *polis*, which is mentioned only a few times in our written sources. The first mention of Asea is found in Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11, in a passage referring to the year 370: the city is here described as the rallying-place for the Arkadian army. Some years later Asea belonged to the *poleis* from which people were moved when Megalopolis was founded (Paus. 8.27.3). However, Asea clearly continued to exist as a *polis* also after this date as in 362 it is mentioned by Xenophon (*Hell.* 7.5.5) together with Tegea, Megalopolis and Pallantion, as four *poleis* of a certain importance, contrasted to smaller *poleis* who were forced to side with Thebes against Sparta. Asea continued to exist as a *polis* in the Hellenistic period. It now belonged to the Achaian Confederacy, had its own Delphic *theorodokos*, and even minted its own coins in 192.² With the coming of the Romans, Asea however seems to have begun to decline as Strabo describes it as being a *kome* of Megalopolis (8.3.12) and Pausanias somewhat later states that it already was in ruins (8.44.3).

When the written sources are as meagre as they are concerning the history of Asea, it is often hoped that archaeology will give us more information. Asea happens to be one of those Greek *poleis* the urban centre of which has been partly excavated. The excavations of Asea Paleokastro by E.J. Holmberg towards the end of the 1930s were exemplarily published.³ Holmberg uncovered several Hellenistic houses and perhaps the foundations of a temple on the top of the akropolis and what he describes as a palaistra below it (perhaps also part of a house). He also describes the walls of the akropolis and the walls around the

- 1 The present paper stems from two lectures held at a seminar about Arkadia, organised by the Copenhagen Polis Centre in Copenhagen. We would like to thank T.H. Nielsen for the invitation to speak to the seminar. Our thanks are also due to M. Jost, T.H. Nielsen, E. Østby and J. Roy for reading the paper and giving many pertinent suggestions.
- 2 T.H. Nielsen, "Arkadia, City-Ethnics and Tribalism," *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 136–7 with further references.
- 3 E.J. Holmberg, *The Swedish Excavations at Asea in Arcadia*. Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae 4*, 11 (Lund/Leipzig 1944).

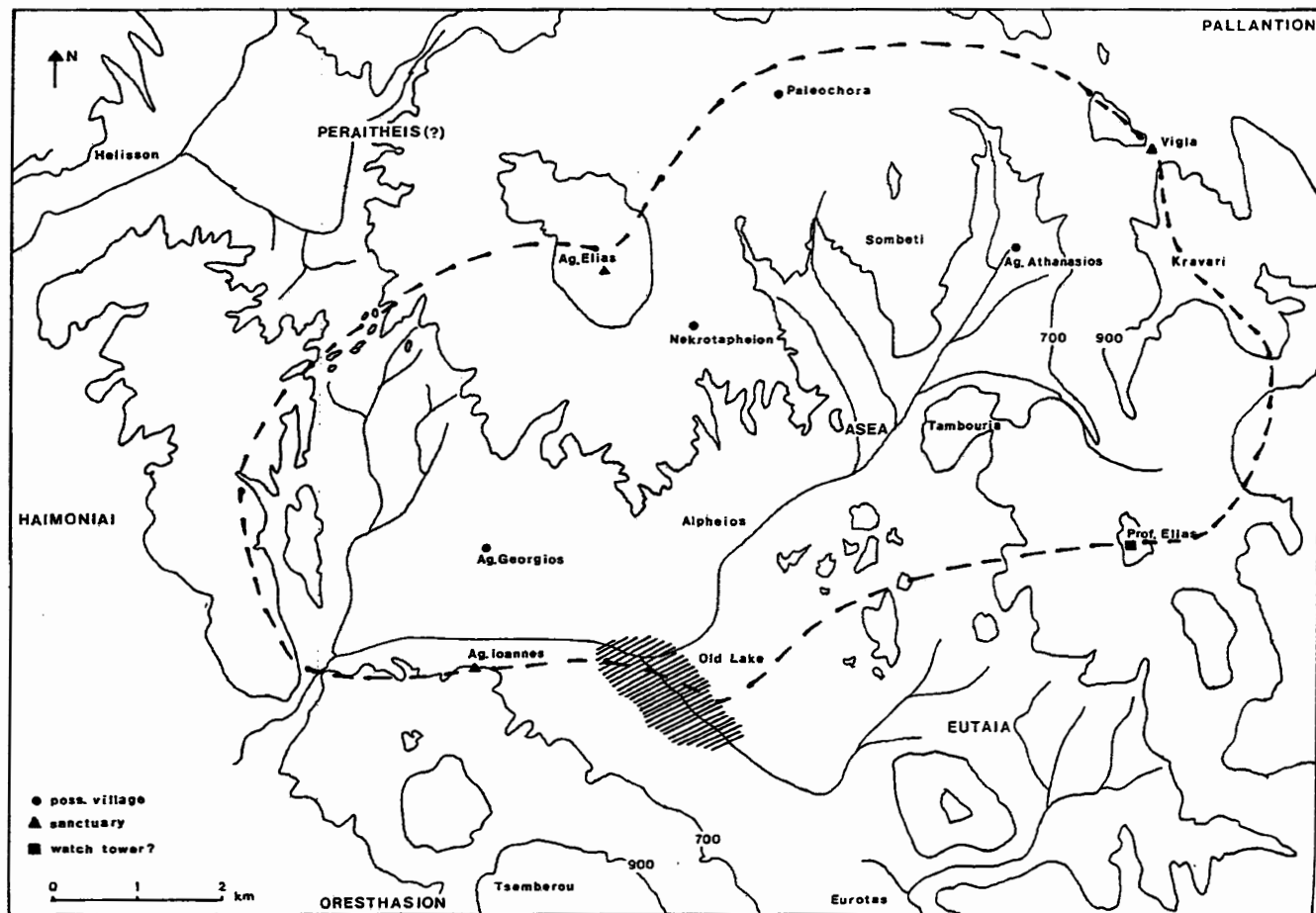


Fig. 1. The approximate territory of Asea

lower city in detail and dates them to the third century. Apart from prehistoric pottery, two Geometric vases and a Byzantine coin, Holmberg could not find any datable objects earlier than the fourth century nor later than ca. 100 BC. His conclusion from this is that Classical and Roman Asea must have been situated somewhere else in the valley. He also suggests a location for Roman Asea (probably at Agios Nikolaos of Asea), but leaves the question about the location of Classical Asea open.

Other archaeological activities in the area of Asea have uncovered a temple in Doric order from ca. 500 situated on the top of Agios Elias, ca. 3.5 km northwest of the akropolis of Asea,⁴ and another temple from the end of the sixth century at Vigla ca. 4.5 km northeast of the akropolis and located on the highest spot of the pass leading from Asea to Pallantion and Tegea (Fig. 1); the temple of Vigla, which is identical with the temple of Athena Soteira and Poseidon mentioned by Pausanias on his way from Megalopolis to Tegea (8.44.4), has even been shown to have had a smaller predecessor of wood and clay, dating to 630–620.⁵ Another temple of Asea, that of *Meter theon* mentioned by Pausanias (8.44.3) and apparently situated close to the akropolis itself, has never been found. It has however been suggested that a statue of a seated female dating from the sixth century, recovered at the old khan of Frangovrysi in 1868, originated from this sanctuary.⁶

- 4 E.J. Holmberg, *A Doric Temple near Asea in Arcadia*, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrifter 48 (Göteborg 1941). For an up-to-date discussion of this temple, see E. Østby, "Templi di Pallantion e dell'Arcadia: confronti e sviluppi," *ASAtene* 68–69 (1995) 350–60. Holmberg tried to show that the temple on Agios Elias was the temple of Athena Soteira and Poseidon mentioned by Paus. 8.44.4, but this theory has gained little support. For criticism see, e.g., M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, Études peloponésiennes 11 (Paris 1985) 200f. and Y.A. Pikoulas, 'Η νότια Μεγαλοπολιτική χώρα από τόν 8^ο. π.Χ. ὥς τόν 4^ο. μ.Χ. αἰώνα (Athens 1988) 59–61. E. Drakopoulos, *Aseatis. The Historical Topography of the Plain of Asea*, *Miscellanea Hellenica* 3 (Athens 1992) 39–41 has recently supported Holmberg, but without presenting any new evidence or arguments.
- 5 For the temple of Vigla, see K.A. Romaios, "Ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς Σωτείρας καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κατὰ τὴν Ἀρκαδικὴν Ἀσέαν," *ArchEph* (1957) 114–163 and most recently Østby (*supra* n. 4) 338–50.
- 6 Athens, NM 6; *IG* V.2 559. On the statue is the inscription ΑΓΕΜΟ. Αγεμο, Hagemo and Hegemone are epicleses of Artemis, but Romaios (*supra* n. 5) 163 still connected the statue with the sanctuary of *Meter theon*, a belief in which he has been followed e.g. by Pikoulas (*supra* n. 4) 58 and J. de la Genière, "Statuaire archaïque de la Mère des dieux en Arcadie et en Laconie," in O. Palagia & W. Coulson (eds.), *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia. Proceedings of an International Conference Held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, April 10–14, 1992*, Oxbow Monograph 30 (Exeter 1993) 156. The statue could, however, as well originate from another sanctuary of Artemis which never was mentioned by Pausanias, or, could even be the funerary statue of a heroicised deceased person (cf. R. Kolonia, "Agemo, Hagemo," *LIMC* I [1981] 282–3). In 1986 another seated female statue dating from the sixth century was found just north of the Tripolis-Megalopolis highway at the westernmost part of Kato Asea (cf. Th. Spyropoulos, "Νέα γλυπτά αποκτήματα του Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Τριπόλεως," in *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia*, 257–8). For the circumstances of this find, see also Pikoulas (*supra* n. 4) 253, n. 158. Although similar to the statue found at Frangovrysi, de la Genière (156) points out that there are certain features of the Kato Asea statue that are not compatible with the iconography of *Meter theon*.

Even if much archaeological work has been done in the area of Asea, this has not really increased our knowledge of the history of the *polis* Asea. The archaeological work done there rather raises new questions, such as where Classical Asea was situated and why the location of Asea was changed twice, first from the Classical to the Hellenistic period and then again before the Roman period. Likewise, we have no knowledge of when Asea became a *polis*, how large a *polis* it was and if all inhabitants lived in the *asty*, or if there also existed other permanently occupied farms and villages in its territory. In order to try to solve questions like these, the Asea Valley Survey project, directed by Dr. Jeannette Forsén from the University of Gothenburg, was initiated in 1994.⁷ The fieldwork of this project, which is an intensive archaeological field survey, was completed in 1996. In this paper we offer some preliminary results on the history of the *polis* Asea, although the study of the finds is in a very early stage.

II. The emergence of Asea as a polis

In the survey the area around the akropolis and the upper part of the akropolis were walked with special care in lines with a spacing of 1–2 m between the survey members. Material was collected from a total of 39 subareas, consisting of single fields or terraces. This strategy was used in order to define the borders of the site, but also to clarify if finds from different parts of the area differed chronologically. One factor which made this work difficult was the fact that the vegetation of the different fields and terraces varied. Thus the visibility varied from very good on newly ploughed fields to nearly nil in the fields on top of the akropolis, which have been left fallow for a long time and nowadays are completely overgrown.

The total area covered by finds on and around the akropolis amounts to roughly 13 hectares. Apart from prehistoric material ranging from the Neolithic to the Mycenaean periods, the earliest historical pottery found dates to the Archaic period. Thereafter we have plenty of Classical and Hellenistic pottery. The whole Roman period is also present, although there seem to be fewer finds from the end of the Roman period than from the beginning. But again, this is only the result of a preliminary study of the finds, and a clearer picture of the quantities of finds from the different periods and subphases of periods from the Archaic through the Roman period can only be given in the final publication of the survey results. It is clear, however, that material from the Archaic through the Roman period has been found to the west, the south and the east of the akropolis, thus from the whole site, apart from the badly overgrown akropolis itself.

The question of how to define a *polis* archaeologically is difficult. As an example let us quote the Southern Argolid Survey's definition of a town: "Large

7 For a report of the first season, see J. Forsén, B. Forsén & M. Lavento, "The Asea Valley Survey – A Preliminary Report of the 1994 Season," *OpAth* 21 (1996) 73–97. For an abstract of the results from the first and second field season, see J. Forsén, "Archaeological Survey of the Asea Valley in Arcadia, Greece," *AJA* 100 (1996) 345.

size (5.0 ha or more), fortification walls, religious sanctuaries, cemeteries, evidence of a built-up area of habitations within the walls, and the probable identification by historical reference with a known place".⁸ Now a town does not necessarily have to be a *polis*. On the other hand most *poleis* have an urban centre. In cases when we have historical sources indicating the existence of a *polis* at a certain site, it is reasonable to assume that as soon as this site developed into an urban centre it also became a *polis* (if it was not one already). In this way the Southern Argolid Survey's definition of a town is broadly speaking applicable to *poleis* as well.

We would, however, prefer to set the minimum size of a *polis* centre higher than that used by the Southern Argolid Survey for a town. In the Southern Argolid Survey the minimum limit was probably set so low in order to be able to include Mases (5.0 ha) in this group, but Mases never developed into a *polis* itself. The *polis* centres of Halieis and Hermione, which both are located in the Southern Argolid and are good examples of smaller *poleis*, cover areas of 18.0 and 22.5 ha. respectively.⁹ The *polis* centre of Koressos on Kea, which was surveyed intensively by the Kea survey team, covered at its maximum an area of 18 ha.¹⁰ Finally, in order to take an example from Arkadia, the intensive Megalopolis Field Survey reported an area of ca. 25–30 ha for Haimoniai, which they place between the modern villages Perivolia and Mallota.¹¹

If the total area covered by pottery in Asea (13 ha) was settled during the Archaic and Classical periods, then the size would be nearly compatible with those reported for, e.g., Halieis, Hermione or Koressos. However, the results of coring with an auger in the sterile alluvium to the east of the area covered by pottery, towards the riverbed of the Alpheios, indicate that the size of the site around the akropolis of Asea might have been at least twice as large as that remaining today (Fig. 2). The eastern part of the site has been covered by a layer of up to 2.5 m of sterile alluvium deposited by the river Alpheios and its tributaries Panaitsa and Gelatzi. In all 31 augering holes a homogenous, 0.1–1.5 m thick, cultural layer, was recorded, which sometimes produced small undiagnostic black-glazed body-sherds. Some C-14 samples were taken, but remain to be analysed.

Holmberg dated both the remaining akropolis walls and the spurwalls of the lower city of Asea to the third century. There is, however, a clear difference between the building technique of the akropolis wall and that of the spurwalls, a

8 M.H. Jameson, C.N. Runnels & T.H. van Andel, *A Greek Countryside. The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day* (Stanford 1994) 249.

9 Jameson et al. (*supra* n. 8) 435–437 and 488–9.

10 T.M. Whitelaw & J.L. Davis, "The *Polis* Center of Koressos," in J.F. Cherry, J.L. Davis & E. Maniourani, *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History. Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands*. Monumenta Archaeologica 16 (Los Angeles 1991) 265–81.

11 J. Roy, J.A. Lloyd & E.J. Owens, "Two Sites in the Megalopolis Basin: Suggested Locations for Haemoniae and Cromnus," in J.M. Sanders (ed.), *ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΙΑ. Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling* (London 1992) 187, describe the site as being 700 x 500 m large. However, J. Roy kindly informs us that the area is not a full rectangle and that it therefore amounts to ca. 25–30 ha and not 35 ha.

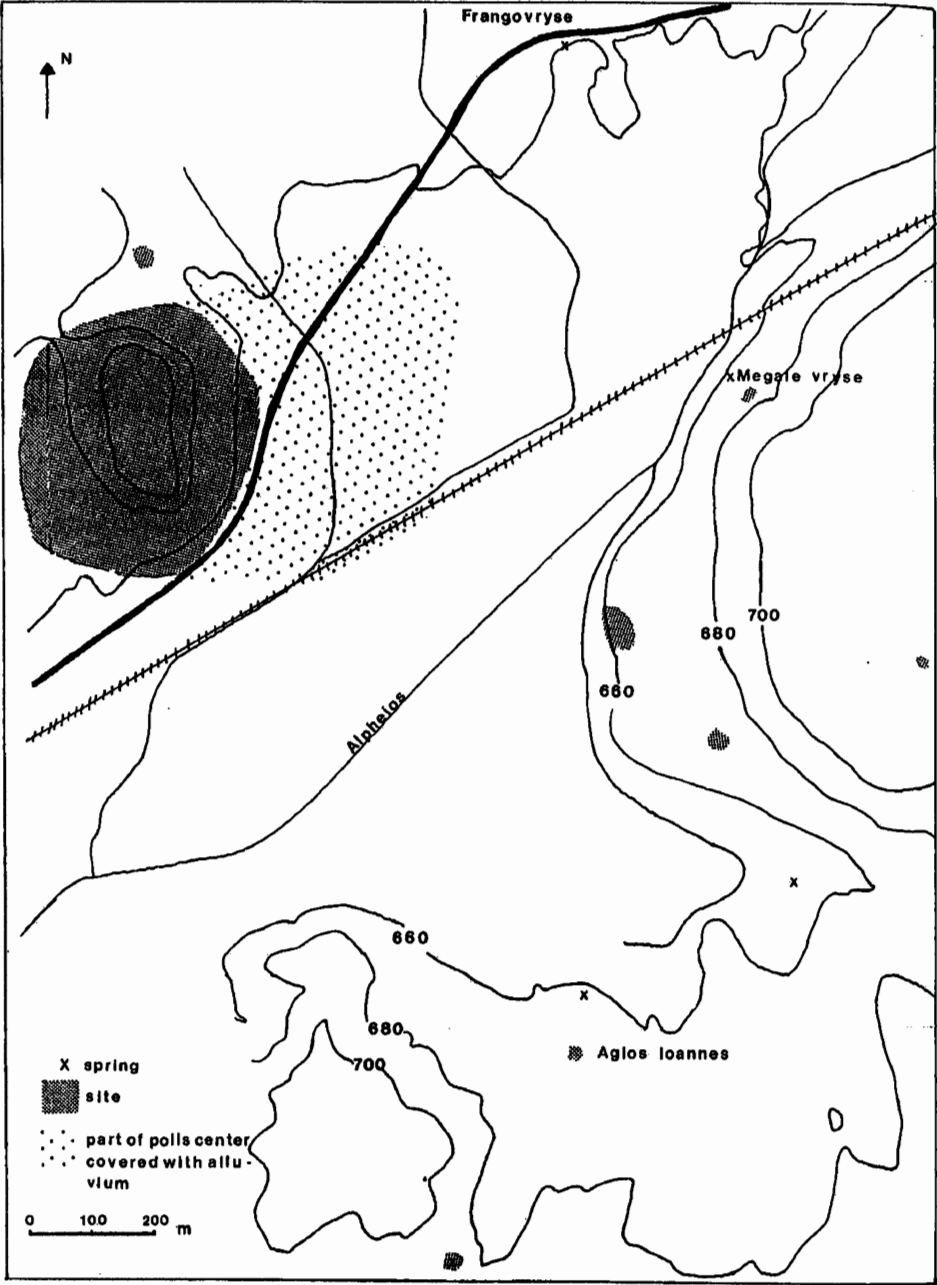


Fig. 2. The polis centre of Asea and its surroundings

fact already noted by Y.A. Pikoulas. Pikoulas conducted in the early 1980s an extensive survey of as much as 900 km² in southern Arkadia. During this work he visited Asea, where, apart from Hellenistic material, he also found some Classical pottery and a fragmentary, possibly late Archaic, terracotta relief.¹² Pikoulas compares the walls of the akropolis of Asea with those of Mantinea and thus suggests that the walls of the akropolis of Asea are to be dated to the beginning of the fourth century,¹³ a suggestion which may very well be correct. In this case Asea was fortified already during the late Classical period. No earlier fortification walls are known, but the akropolis is so steep and easy to defend that it might not have required more than a brick or wooden wall, of which nothing has remained.

If we turn to the remaining criteria for a town according to the definition set out by the Southern Argolid survey, the excavations by Holmberg did show that there existed a built-up area of habitations inside the walls, but Holmberg dated all those houses to the Hellenistic period. However, as not all of the houses cleared by Holmberg contained Hellenistic finds, we cannot exclude the possibility that some of them were indeed older.¹⁴ On the other hand, Holmberg looked in vain for remains of a cemetery close to Asea. The survey-team recorded in 1994 a late Hellenistic grave relief, allegedly found somewhere to the north of the akropolis, on the lower slopes facing east and the Panaitsa ravine.¹⁵ Ca. 800 m to the east of the akropolis, on the lower northwestern slope of Tambouria, local workmen found, approximately 30 years ago, a couple of cist graves covered by limestone slabs. One of these is still preserved, but, as no pottery could be found close to the grave, it is difficult to date.

The emergence of a major cult centre has been taken as one of the surest signs of the emergence of a *polis*.¹⁶ Traditionally the sanctuaries set on an akropolis have been regarded as the most important in a *polis*. F. de Polignac has drawn attention to two other groups of sanctuaries: the suburban or periurban sanctuaries and the extraurban sanctuaries. The periurban sanctuaries were constructed right on the edge of the town or just a little way off, whereas the extraurban sanctuaries usually are situated between five to six and twelve to fifteen kilometers from the town, often at the borders of the territory of the *polis*. De Polignac also showed that the formation of *poleis* should be seen in connection with the development of large extramural sanctuaries that mostly were at least as imposing as their urban counterparts.¹⁷

12 Pikoulas (*supra* n. 4) 56.

13 Pikoulas (*supra* n. 4) 181.

14 F. Felten, *Arkadien (Antike Welt, Sondernummer 1987)* 45–6 thinks that the best preserved house on the akropolis of Asea (House I), which has exact parallels in Priene, could date to the beginning of the fourth century.

15 For the graverelief, see Forsén et al. (*supra* n. 7) 92 Fig. 22.

16 See A.M. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece. The Age of Experiment* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1980) 33–4.

17 F. de Polignac, *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State* (Chicago and London 1995) esp. 21–5.

Holmberg's interpretation of the building on top of the akropolis as a temple has been regarded as highly hypothetical by M. Jost.¹⁸ If Asea offers little information about sanctuaries set on its akropolis, there is plenty of information available about periurban and extraurban sanctuaries. Both the temple of Athena Soteira and Poseidon at Vigla and the unidentified temple on the top of Agios Elias can be regarded as typical extraurban sanctuaries. Both are visible from large parts of the valley of Asea, and both are situated at natural border areas, the temple at Vigla dividing Asea from Pallantion, the temple of Agios Elias dividing Asea from the Helisson valley. As already mentioned the marble temples at both these sanctuaries were built during the late Archaic period, the one at Vigla in the last quarter of the sixth century, the one on Agios Elias around 500. What is even more interesting is the fact that the temple at Vigla had a predecessor of wood and clay dating to ca. 630–620. Apart from Laconian roof tiles and acroteria, bronze (e.g. animal and human sheet figures and quadrupeds) and clay votives and one marble plaque probably belonging to this early sanctuary have also been uncovered. Three metal votives in shape of tridents are crucial for the identification of the deities to which the temple was dedicated.¹⁹

The sanctuary of *Meter theon* could be regarded as an example of a periurban sanctuary of Asea. It has been located by many scholars close to the spring of Frangovrysi, probably because of the female seated statue recovered from here in 1868. This interpretation has been supported by the fact that two early travellers in the 19th century, W. Gell and E. Curtius, both mention having seen "a few blocks of stone" close to the khan built at the spring.²⁰ Pausanias is, however, very clear in his description of the location of the sanctuary (8.44.3); it was near to the source of the Alpheios, which was situated at some distance from the road, whereas the source of the Eurotas was by the road itself. If the road Pausanias speaks about followed the course of the modern Megalopolis-Tripolis road (which actually is the only logical choice for a road leading through the narrow pass between the hills of Sombeti and Tambouria), then the spring at Frangovrysi is to be identified with the source of the Eurotas, and the source of the Alpheios has to be looked for further to the south, close to Tambouria.

18 Jost (*supra* n. 4) 195.

19 For the dating of these temples see nn. 4–5 above. Romaïos (*supra* n. 5) suggested ca. 570–540 as a date for the temple at Vigla. According to Østby (*supra* n. 4) 348–50, some architectural features of the temple at Vigla suggest a date around ca. 540–530, whereas other features point to the last quarter of the sixth century. Østby presents two possible explanations for this; either some archaizing details (perhaps even reused from an earlier building) were included in the temple when it was built in the last quarter of the sixth century, or, the temple was built ca. 530 and repaired some decades later. For the finds from the early sanctuary of Athena Soteira and Poseidon at Vigla see, apart from Romaïos (*supra* n. 5), also M.E. Voyatzis, *The Early Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and Other Archaic Sanctuaries in Arcadia*, SIMA-PB 97 (Göteborg 1990) 33–4, 281 and pls. 82, 172.

20 W. Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea: Being a Description of the Routes of that Peninsula* (London 1817) 137, and E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos. Eine historisch-geographische Beschreibung der Halbinsel* (Gotha 1851) 266. For the most recent discussion of the sanctuary of *Meter theon*, see Pikoulas (*supra* n. 4) 57–8, who also locates the sanctuary in the neighbourhood of Frangovrysi. Pikoulas furthermore mentions that villagers told him about large stoneblocks being found close to Frangovrysi.

Pikoulas actually found remains of an ancient temple at Agios Ioannes roughly 1 km southeast from the akropolis of Asea (Fig. 2).²¹ Next to the church there is also a spring. This cannot admittedly be compared in abundance with the several springs of Megale Vrysi next to Tambouria, which traditionally have been regarded as one of the two sources (of Eurotas and Alpheios) mentioned by Pausanias as located close to Asea. But, on the other hand, the strong and rather recent²² deposition of alluvium between the akropolis and the hills to the south and east of it may have changed the flow of water drastically since antiquity. If the temple of *Meter theon* is located at Agios Ioannes, then the statue and the blocks mentioned by Gell and Curtius must have been brought to the khan from there, which does not seem totally unlikely taking into consideration that in the 18th and 19th century the khan was the only settlement at the valley bottom and not more than 1.5 km to the north of Agios Ioannes.

The remains at Agios Ioannes are unfortunately not exactly datable, which means that our knowledge of the beginning of the cult of *Meter theon* must be based on the date of the female seated statue with the inscription ΑΓΕΜΟ which, it has been suggested, originated from this sanctuary. As already shown, this statue dates to the sixth century. It is unfortunately not yet settled if it dates to the beginning or the end of that century.²³ There is of course nothing to say that the sanctuary of *Meter theon* could not have been established earlier than the statue; we have only a *terminus ante quem* for the cult, which, like the two extrarban sanctuaries, goes back to the Archaic period.

During our survey of the area around the akropolis we found on the north side what probably can be described as a second periurban sanctuary (Fig. 2). There are no visible architectural blocks here, but in an area of ca. 20 x 20 m we found a large amount of fine pottery, mainly drinking cups, miniature vessels, and many fragments of terracotta figurines, all depicting females and at least one being a *hydrophoros*. The finds date from the Archaic through the Hellenistic period and may even contain a few very worn late Geometric sherds. What we have here is a cultplace of a goddess, perhaps of Demeter, as a large part of the bones found in association with the cultplace are pigbones.²⁴

Sanctuaries do not emerge without the existence in their neighbourhood of some kind of a community. As already shown, the formation of a *polis* is often accompanied by the development of large extramural sanctuaries. Some of these sanctuaries did exist before the formation of the *poleis*, but as a result of the

21 Pikoulas (*supra* n. 4) 63–4, no. 16.

22 After the field observations of the first season we suggested that a strong erosional phase occurred during Roman or early post-Roman times (see Forsén et al. [*supra* n. 7] 96–7). We are now inclined to set this erosional phase even later, in Medieval or Early Modern times.

23 For the statue, see the references given in n. 6 above. For the question of the date of the statue, see L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961) 209–10, and P. Kranz, "Frühe griechische Sitzfiguren. Zum Problem der Typenbildung und des orientalischen Einflusses in der frühen griechischen Rundplastik," *AM* 87 (1972) 24–5, with further references.

24 For the identification of the bones we thank, apart from N. Söderholm, also W. Richards, who is going to publish them in the final report of the survey.

formation of the *poleis* the importance of demarcating the territories grew. Therefore the extramural sanctuaries turned into major sanctuaries which often were embellished by costly edifices. It seems difficult to imagine all the four sanctuaries discussed above as having emerged, or at least developing into such major sanctuaries as the ones on Agios Elias and at Vigla, without the existence of a *polis* at Asea.

Furthermore, the Archaic, Classical, and even Roman pottery found all around the akropolis, and the proposed new date of the walls on the akropolis itself, makes the following new sketch of the history of the *polis* of Asea possible: the *polis* of Asea existed at least from the end of the sixth to the mid-second century with its *polis* centre being situated at Asea Paleokastro. Asea probably became a *polis* some time during the seventh or the sixth century, although it is difficult to say exactly when. The defeat of the Achaean Confederacy by the Romans meant the beginning of a decline for Asea. It did however continue to exist into the Roman period, although by then it had lost its *polis* status and was considered a *kome* of Megalopolis.²⁵ Some time before Pausanias visited the area, Asea Paleokastro was abandoned or had deteriorated into being only a settlement of squatters.

III. Where did the people of the polis Asea live?

It is a well known fact that not all the inhabitants of a Greek *polis* lived in the *asty*, or the urban centre of the *polis*. Part of the population also lived in villages or hamlets, which sometimes were called *demoi* or *komai*. The countryside of a *polis*, the *chora*, is also known to have been littered by isolated buildings, the remains of which are found in large quantities in every archaeological surface survey. In his book *Classical Landscapes with Figures* Osborne drew a picture of the Greek landscape in antiquity as free of permanent isolated settlement, with all the people living in the *asty* and other smaller nucleated centres and only staying seasonally in farmsteads and small huts in the countryside.²⁶ It is, however, questionable if this picture is correct. Even if it is extremely difficult to tell archaeologically if a farmstead was inhabited only seasonally or throughout the year – this cannot be ascertained even when the whole farmstead has been excavated systematically, as in Vari in Attika²⁷ – the occurrence in many of these farmsteads of fine as well as coarse wares, loomweights, millstones etc. suggests that they may have been settled permanently.²⁸

25 For a discussion of the usage of *kome* in Greek sources, see M.H. Hansen, "Kome. A Study in How the Greeks Designated and Classified Settlements Which Were Not *Poleis*," *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 45–81.

26 R. Osborne, *Classical Landscape with Figures. The Ancient Greek City and its Countryside* (London 1987).

27 J.E. Jones, A.J. Graham & L.H. Sackett, "An Attic Country House below the Cave of Pan at Vari," *BSA* 68 (1973) 355–452.

28 See for instance A. Snodgrass, "Survey Archaeology and the Rural Landscape of the Greek

In the Asea Valley Survey, apart from the area around the akropolis of Asea, we have found between 20 and 30 other sites which date from the Archaic to Hellenistic period. Most of these sites are small, with an area around or even below 0.5 ha, and they should probably be described as farmsteads or seasonal huts. These sites mainly produced black- and/or brown-painted tiles which cannot be dated more closely than to some time during the Archaic to Hellenistic period. Some of these small sites might have been settled throughout the year as smaller amounts of fine wares were found in connection with them. Two of the non-urban settlement sites from the Archaic to Hellenistic period do, however, clearly differ from the rest of the group, partly by being much larger, partly by producing larger quantities of fine and coarse wares in addition to loomweights. These are the sites S 47 at Agios Georgios of Athenaion and S 15–16 at Agios Athanasios of Dorizas (Fig. 1).

Both S 47 and S 15–16 are situated close to abundant springs and the fertile valley bottom. Interestingly enough they are likewise both situated close to a sanctuary. S 47 is probably identical with the settlement Athenaion mentioned by Pausanias, which was situated close to a temple of Athena (Paus. 8.44.2),²⁹ the exact location of which is unclear, but of which we probably have found an architectural block dating to the fourth century in our survey.³⁰ S 15–16 is situated only 1.5 km from the extraurban sanctuary of Athena Soteira and Poseidon at Vigla and was perhaps its nearest settlement. It seems likely that S 47 and S 15–16 were small villages, settled on a permanent basis, which had a special interest in the sanctuaries close to them, which they probably frequented more often than the inhabitants of the *asty*.

Apart from S 47 and S 15–16 there are two additional sites that might qualify as small villages or hamlets, and these are S 39 at the modern Nekrotapheion of Ano Asea and Paleochora of Dorizas (Fig. 1). The whole southern part of the hill (150 x 100 m) on which the Nekrotapheion of Ano Asea is situated is terraced with walls of Classical appearance. The uppermost terraces are covered by a large

City," in O. Murray & S. Price (eds.), *The Greek City. From Homer to Alexander* (Oxford 1990) esp. 125–8; J.F. Cherry, J.L. Davis & E. Mantzourani, "Greek and Roman Settlement and Land Use," in Cherry et al. (*supra* n. 10) 333–40; A. Penttinen, "The Classical and Hellenistic Periods," in B. Wells (ed.), *The Berbati-Limnes Archaeological Survey 1988–1990*. Acta Instituti Atheniensia Regni Sueciae 4^a, 44 (Stockholm 1996) esp. 277–8; Jameson et al. (*supra* n. 8) 248–51, 382–92 and 548–53.

- 29 Athenaion is described by Pausanias as being a *chorion*. M. Jost, "Villages de l'Arcadie antique," *Ktêma* 11 (1986) 145–6, points out that *chorion* is never used by Pausanias to describe an inhabited village. Jost believes that Pausanias' *chorion* of Athenaion only refers to the immediate surroundings of the temple of Athena. It is, however, difficult to understand why Pausanias would have mentioned the *chorion* of Athenaion at all if nothing in particular existed nor ever had existed in the neighbourhood of the temple of Athena. We believe that Pausanias in this case refers to a settlement, S 47, which very well could have turned into a Roman villa at the time of Pausanias. For a similar judgement, see, e.g., Pikoulas (*supra* n. 4) 65–6, no. 18, who considers Pausanias' *chorion* of Athenaion to be a village.
- 30 The architectural blocks recorded in the survey are going to be published by J. Pakkanen. We owe many thanks to E. Østby and J. Pakkanen for giving a preliminary date of the geison block found close to the modern village of Athenaion.

amount of black- and brown-painted tiles, but due to heavy vegetation no datable pottery could be found. During restoration work in 1995 in the modern chapel on the top of the hill, a cut stone slab and a small fragmentary bronze artefact showing a pair of human feet on top of a spiral, were found. These finds might indicate the presence of a sanctuary here, around which a small village could have been located. Paleochora of Dorizas is situated outside our survey area, just to the north, and was thus not walked by us. Pikoulas, who found this site, reports that it is 100 x 100 m large and that it produced large amounts of tiles and pottery from the Late Archaic (?) or at least the Classical through the Hellenistic period.³¹

Thus, the overall synthesis concerning the question of where the people of the *polis* Asea lived seems to be the following. Apart from the *asty*, the centre of the *polis*, there existed at least two, and perhaps a few more, small villages or hamlets, in addition to 20 or so isolated farmsteads, of which only some were settled throughout the year.

IV. The size of the polis Asea

The last part of this article deals with two questions: How large was the total territory of the *polis* Asea and how many people could as a maximum have lived in it? It has already been suggested that the temple of Athena Soteira and Poseidon at Vigla and the one on the top of Agios Elias would have been extra-urban sanctuaries of Asea, thus roughly indicating the borders of its territory. It seems very likely that there existed another sanctuary at Agios Ioannes of Marmaria, which, to judge by its location (laying on the lower slopes of the Tsemberou range it must have been seen from a large part of the valley of Asea), could also well be classified as an extraurban sanctuary of Asea. Architectural blocks were already reported at this chapel by early travelers, and seen by Pikoulas, incorporated into the walls of the chapel.³² Since Pikoulas' visit the walls have been plastered, and as the blocks are no longer visible they are unfortunately undatable.

31 Pikoulas (*supra* n. 4) 52–3, no. 8.

32 This site is probably mentioned for the first time already in 1715 by B. Brue, *Journal de la campagne que le grand-vizir Ali-Pacha a fait en 1715 pour la conquête de la Morée* (Paris 1870) 39. The site was "re-found" by W. Loring, "Some Ancient Routes in the Peloponnese," *JHS* 15 (1895) 29–30. For a further discussion of this sanctuary, which could be Aphrodision mentioned at Paus. 8.44.2, see Pikoulas (*supra* n. 4) 66–8, no. 20. Yet another sanctuary was probably situated at the highest part of the pass over the Tsemberou range (Pikoulas [*supra* n. 4] 106–7, nos. 63–64), but this sanctuary is separated from Asea not only by the old lake at the northeastern foot of the Tsemberou range, but also by the rather steep northeastern slope of the Tsemberou range, where no sites of Archaic-Hellenistic date were found by the Asea Valley Survey project. Thus the sanctuary on the highest part of the pass over the Tsemberou range is more likely to be interpreted as belonging to Oresthasion, the *polis* centre of which is situated on the southwestern slope of the Tsemberou range, only ca. 2 km away from the sanctuary.

The borders of the *polis* could also be traced by studying the locations of the other settlement sites and the general geographical setting of the area. Thus the Kravari mountain range seems a natural divider from Asea's eastern neighbour Pallantion and the Tsemberou range, or rather the lake at its northeastern foot, a natural divider from Asea's southwestern neighbour Oresthasion. The Tsemberou range continues on the north side of the Alpheios in a series of lower hills, which, although not being as impenetrable as the Tsemberou and the Kravari ranges, still seem to be a natural divider between Asea and its western neighbour Haimoniai, which was located independently by Pikoulas and the British Megalopolis Survey between the modern villages of Perivolia and Mallota, to the west of the hills.³³

Asea's southern neighbour Eutaia was situated at the modern village of Lianos, and the border between Asea and Eutaia probably ran somewhere between Paleokastro at Kato Asea and Lianos, over the barren dry hillocks just to the north of the modern village of Ambelakion. Pikoulas discovered the remains of what may have been a Hellenistic watch tower at Agios Georgios of Manaris on Profitis Elias.³⁴ This tower is situated roughly where the border between Asea and Eutaia must have run and could perhaps even have guarded it (Fig. 1). The northern border is more difficult to define, but, if the temple of Agios Elias is considered an extraurban sanctuary near the border, then the small valley around the modern village of Arachamites would not have belonged to Asea.³⁵ This would give a total area of ca 60 km² for the territory of Asea (see Fig. 1).

With a territory of 60 km² Asea would have been a rather small *polis*, perhaps somewhat larger than Pallantion, but clearly smaller than Mantinea and Tegea, which both could be described as medium-sized Greek *poleis*.³⁶ Most of the Mainalian *poleis* were probably small, roughly the size of Asea and Pallantion or even somewhat smaller, a fact which also might explain the existence of the Mainalian tribal community in the Classical period, at the same time as the individual members clearly had achieved *polis* status; only if the Mainalians united could they stand up against their larger neighbours.³⁷

33 Pikoulas (*supra* n. 4) 90–3, no. 45 and Roy et al. (*supra* n. 11) 185–90.

34 Pikoulas (*supra* n. 4) 50–1, no. 6.

35 According to Pausanias' description of the location of the Mainalian *polis* Peraithis (8.36.7), it probably was located in the valley of Arachamites, an area which unfortunately is poorly known in archaeological terms.

36 For the approximative size of *poleis* in Arkadia, see e.g. the map in Jost (*supra* n. 4) pl. 1. According to this map, the territory of Pallantion would comprise ca. 55 km² (T.H. Nielsen, *Πολλῶν ἐκ πόλεων. The Polis Structure of Arkadia in the Archaic and Classical Periods* [Unpubl. Ph.D.-diss., University of Copenhagen 1996] 184). E. Meyer, on the other hand, estimated the size of the territory of Pallantion at 30 km² (E. Meyer, "Pallantion", *RE* 18.2 [1949] 232–3). The difficulties involved when estimating the size of ancient *poleis* is furthermore well illustrated, e.g., by the medium-sized *polis* Mantinea, where estimates vary between 207 and 325 km² (S. & H. Hodkinson, "Mantinea and the Mantinike: Settlement and Society in a Greek Polis," *BSA* 76 [1981] 275, n. 128). There are only few *poleis* like Sparta, Athens and Corinth that could be described as large.

37 Nielsen (*supra* n. 2) esp. 132–43. Nielsen quotes Ps.-Skylax (44) according to whom the large *poleis* of Arkadia were Tegea, Mantinea, Heraia, Orchomenos and Stymphalos.

How many people did as a maximum live in Asea? One way of estimating the population of a *polis* is to calculate from the relationship between people and space in settlements, a method which however is full of possible pitfalls. One of the problems is the fact that densities vary greatly. Estimates for the densities of urban centres in ancient Greece vary from 150 to 300 persons/ha, and the same sort of variation can be seen in recent data; during the Second World War the population densities for 15 Cycladic island capitals ranged between 70 and 300 persons/ha.³⁸ The Kea survey uses a density of 150 persons/ha when calculating the population of the *polis* centre of Koressos, but calculates that only between 6 and 8 ha of the total 18 ha site was densely occupied.³⁹ The Southern Argolid Survey uses a higher estimate, and reckons 250 persons/ha for towns and 125 persons/ha for villages. They do however subtract 16% of the space in towns for public buildings and open spaces.⁴⁰ Finally, in Mantinea, S. and H. Hodkinson estimate the population density at only 65–77 persons/ha and subtract a total of 25% of the space for the public sectors of the town.⁴¹

As Asea is a small *polis* situated far from the coast, it might be wise to use a moderate estimate of the population density of the *asty*, perhaps 100–150 persons/ha. Parts of the slopes of the akropolis are probably too steep for settlement. Consequently it is reasonable to assume that a maximum of only 75% of the space of the *asty* was densely settled. If the total area settled on and around the akropolis of Asea is estimated at ca. 26–27 ha and we subtract 25%, we reach the conclusion that at most ca. 20 ha was densely settled. This would give a maximum population for the *asty* of between 2,000 and 3,000 inhabitants. One could suppose another 500 or so people living in the villages and some of the isolated farmsteads. This would give a maximum population for Asea of somewhere between ca. 2,500 and 3,500 inhabitants. It should however be stressed that this is a maximum figure, and that Asea probably had fewer inhabitants during a large part of its existence as a *polis*.⁴²

Jeanette Forsén
Dept. of Classical Archaeology
and Ancient History
Göteborg University

Björn Forsén
Finnish Inst. at Athens

38 Whitelaw & Davis (*supra* n. 10) 279–80; Jameson et al. (*supra* n. 8) 542–3 and 549–50.

39 Whitelaw & Davis (*supra* n. 10) 278–80.

40 Jameson et al. (*supra* n. 8) 549–50.

41 S. & H. Hodkinson (*supra* n. 36) esp. 263 and 286.

42 Parts I, III–IV of this article were written by B. Forsén, while Part II was written by J. Forsén.

INDEX OF SOURCES

1: refers to *CPCPapers* 1

2: refers to *CPCPapers* 2

3: refers to *CPCPapers* 3

4: refers to *CPCPapers* 4

I. LITERARY TEXTS

Acts of the Apostles

17.1 4:118

Aelius Aristides

1.293 3:119

Aeneas Tacticus

2.2 2:131

15.10 3:157

Aeschines

1.60 2:142

2.27 2:116; 3:167; 4:19

2.32 2:187

2.45 2:171

2.58 2:187

2.59 2:187

2.68 1:63

2.89 2:186

2.92 2:187

2.135 2:187

2.142 2:77

3.18 2:204

3.24 2:187

3.50 2:187

3.75 2:187

3.106 2:47

3.142 2:37

3.171 2:198

3.187 2:187

Aeschylus

Agamemnon

89f 2:208

Eumenides

668 2:131

Persae

249 2:130

Prometheus Vincit

421 2:130

846 4:89

Septem contra Thebas

63 2:130

120 2:131

247 2:131

Supplices

282 3:8

Fragments (Mette)

Fr. 119 2:65

Aëtius

1.6 2:202

Alcaeus (LP)

129 2:206

Alexander Polyhistor (*FGrHist* 273)

Fr. 134 4:94

Anacreon (Page)

357 2:209

Anaximenes (*FGrHist* 72)

Fr. 4-14 2:178

Andocides

1.32f 2:202

1.71f 2:202

1.77-9 2:187

1.95 2:152

3.13 2:35; 3:118, 130, 133;

4:34

3.14 3:130

3.19 3:122

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|------------|
| 3.20 | 2:35; 3:118, 130, 133;
4:34 | <i>Equites</i>
640 | 2:147 |
| 3.21 | 2:128 | 675 | 2:147 |
| Androton (<i>FGrHist</i> 324) | | 754 | 1:63 |
| Fr. 51 | 1:112 | 894–8 | 1:76 |
| | | 1009 | 4:96 |
| Anthologia Palatina | | <i>Lysistrata</i>
387–98 | 2:175 |
| 9.657 | 1:29 | | |
| Antiphon | | <i>Pax</i>
420 | 2:175 |
| 5.11 | 1:77 | | |
| 5.70 | 3:176 | <i>Vespae</i>
9–10 | 2:175 |
| 6.21 | 1:76 | 90 | 2:180 |
| 6.45 | 2:171 | | |
| Apollodorus Mythographus | | Aristophanes Boeotus (<i>FGrHist</i> 379) | |
| <i>Bibliothēke</i> | | Fr. 3 | 2:130, 131 |
| 3.8 | 4:134 | Aristotle | |
| 3.8.2 | 4:135 | <i>Athenaion Politeia</i>
3.5 | 1:80 |
| Appianus | | 38.1 | 1:44 |
| <i>Bellum Civile</i> | | 42.4 | 1:44, 52 |
| 4.105 | 3:158 | 51.3 | 4:96 |
| <i>Ill.</i> | | 51.4 | 4:85 |
| 7 | 3:159 | 62.2 | 2:122 |
| <i>Mac.</i> | | 68.1 | 1:76 |
| 19 | 3:35 | Fr. 3 | 3:170 |
| <i>Mith.</i> | | <i>Categoriae</i>
5b22–4 | 2:61 |
| 107 | 4:113 | | |
| 108 | 4:51 | <i>De mirabilibus auscultationibus</i>
834a33–5 | 2:67 |
| Archestratos of Gela (Ribbeck) | | 841b16–9 | 2:65 |
| Fr. 55 | 2:67 | <i>Historia Animalium</i>
519a14 | 2:105 |
| Aristophanes | | 602a8 | 3:156 |
| <i>Aves</i> | | <i>Oeconomica</i>
1346a1 | 4:87 |
| 149 | 2:214; 4:141 | 1346a7 | 4:86 |
| 553 | 2:131 | 1348b21 | 4:87 |
| 814–5 | 3:173, 193 | 1351a22 | 4:87 |
| 848–75 | 2:175 | 1352a30 | 4:86 |
| 1565 | 2:131 | 1352a30–b3 | 4:88 |
| <i>Ecclesiazusae</i> | | <i>Poetica</i>
1448a35–7 | 2:71 |
| 819 | 4:96 | | |

Politica

1252b19–20	2:52; 4:11, 12	1303b7–10	4:36, 37
1252b27–53a1	2:37	1303b10	4:101
1259a25	4:87	1303b25–6	1:93
1259b29–30	2:53	1304a14–17	1:96
1260b40–61a1	3:7	1304a31	3:158; 4:33
1261a28	4:12	1305b5	4:101
1261b10–14	2:37	1305b34	1:93
1261a18	1:92	1306b3–4	1:96
1261a27–9	2:52, 53; 4:11	1306b6–7	3:164
1263b36	1:92	1306a14	1:93
1269b14	1:94	1306a27–33	3:164
1270b31–2	1:94	1308a3–7	1:96
1272b24f	3:166	1308a7	1:93
1274b24	2:105	1308a14	1:93
1274b41	1:92	1309a30–2	1:96
1275b20	1:92; 2:37	1311a40	4:33
1275a22–3	1:92	1315a4–6	2:34, 37
1275b5–7	1:92	1321a27	1:93
1276a23	4:91	1321a30	1:93
1276b1	1:92, 93	1321a31–2	1:96
1276b2–11	1:92	1321b12	4:96
1276b10–11	1:92	1321b12–8	4:87
1278a25–6	4:96	1323b33	1:94
1278b6–14	1:91–98	1325b39–26a5	1:92
1278b24–7	2:53	1326b2–5	4:11
1279a26	1:93, 95	1326a13	1:94
1279a28–30	3:8	1326a18–20	3:179
1280b39	1:94	1326b2–8	2:37
1280b40–81a1	1:93; 2:52	1326b13	1:94
1283b22	1:93	1327a30–2	4:12
1283b31	1:93	1327a31	4:86, 87
1284a38–41	4:11, 12	1327b14	3:159
1285a17	4:12	1327b20–3	4:12
1285b30	4:11	1327b21–3	4:11, 12
1288a8–33	3:8	1328b16–19	1:92; 2:37
1289a15	1:95	1331a30–5	1:46
1290b11–12	3:158	1332b31	1:93
1291a9–10	2:37		
1292a32–4	1:95	<i>Rhetorica</i>	
1293a16	1:93	1360b31	4:11
1293a24	1:93		
1295b1	1:94	<i>Fragments (Gigon)</i>	
1297b1–3	1:96	141	3:162
1297b10	1:93	146	3:158
1297b12–13	1:96	412	2:47
1297b37–98a3	1:96, 97	481.1	4:33
1301b21	3:159	494	2:47
1301b24	1:93	509	3:154–5
1302a13–14	1:96	515.1	3:159
1302b17	1:93	519.1	3:160
1303a23	3:158		
1303b7	4:101	<i>Fragments (Rose)</i>	
		487	1:86

- 493 4:145
 536 2:206
 558 2:64
 594 2:67
 657 2:67, 75
- Arrianus**
- Anabasis*
 1.2.5 2:116
 1.12.7
 1.18.1 3:161
 1.26 3:163
 2.5.9 3:161
 4.23.1 1:116
 4.25.5 1:116
 4.30.5 1:116
- Historia Indica*
 1.8 1:116
- Periplus Ponti Euxini*
 14 3:158
 18-9 4:66
 19.3 4:50
 21 3:149, 159, 160
 24 3:165
- Fragments (FGrHist 156)*
 Fr. 71 4:51, 55
- Athenaeus**
 31D 2:68
 70B 4:19
 82B 2:68
 143A-D 2:16
 149D 1:33; 4:33, 91
 149E-F 3:14
 210B 1:80
 320A 2:67
 334E 4:118
 348B 2:64
 352D 3:14
 376B 2:66
 407B-C 2:137, 172
 425A 1:33; 3:161
 442E 2:105
 469B 2:64
 700D 1:34
- Augustinus**
- De civitate Dei*
 6.4 2:202
 6.5 2:201
 6.12 2:201
- Callimachus (Pfeiffer)**
 Fr. 50 1:118
- Cicero**
- Ad Atticum*
 6.1.24 2:41
 6.2.4 2:41
- De Legibus*
 2.2 1:22
- De Natura Deorum*
 3.333 3:14
- De Republica*
 1.26 1:22
 2.53 3:167
 3.35.48 1:51
- In Pisonem*
 fragm. init. orat. 1:22
- In Verrem*
 2.19 1:41
 2.21 1:41
 2.59 1:41
 4.53 1:34, 41
 4.61 1:61
 4.64 1:41
- Pro Flacco*
 7.17 1:48
 16 1:50, 63
- Pro Sestio*
 42.91 1:22
- Tusculanae Disputationes*
 2.22 3:14
- Clemens**
Ep. 1.54.4 2:202
- Conon (FGrHist 26)**
 Fr. 1 2:79

Cornelius Nepos		19.123	2:77
		19.129	2:137
<i>Timotheus</i>		19.153	4:87
4.2	1:49	19.220	3:114
		19.266	2:105
Cornutus		19.315	4:87
		19.325	2:77
<i>De natura deorum</i>		20.31	4:87, 90
30	2:69	20.33	4:50, 89, 116
		20.53	3:155
Craterus (FGrHist 342)		20.31-3	4:85
Fr. 2	4:23	21.8-9	1:44
Fr. 8	2:198	21.22	4:96
		21.47	1:76
Cratinus (Kock)		21.158	1:81
Fr. 15	2:175	22.36	1:89
Fr. 62	2:174	22.76	1:85
Fr. 80	2:174	23.37	4:87
Fr. 82	2:174	23.110	4:87
		23.207	1:85
Damastes of Sigeum (FGrHist 5)		23.211	4:86
T1	4:11	23.213	3:154
		24.45	1:30
Demosthenes		25.11	4:12
2.17	4:87	25.23	2:147
3.25-6	1:81, 85	33.1	4:86
3.29	1:81	33.5	4:86
7.10	3:114	33.6	4:86
7.12	4:87	34	4:86
7.30-2	2:40	34.1	4:85
7.33	2:152	34.28	4:85
7.39	4:22	34.34	4:85, 86, 90
7.43	4:21	34.36-8	4:85
9.26	1:113; 4:118	34.42-4	4:85
9.34	4:33	35	4:86
12.10	1:95	35.28	4:85
15.13	3:163	35.29-30	4:85
15.26	3:163	35.35	3:156
15.27	3:163	35.53	4:85
16.9	3:155	36.6	1:95
16.16	4:145, 152, 155	42.14	1:80
16.27	2:36	47.12	1:76
17.8	2:40	50.47	4:32, 87, 88
17.4-8	2:27, 34	56	4:86
18.55	2:187	56.5-6	4:97
18.142	2:187	56.47	4:86
18.148-9	3:33	57.30-1	4:96
18.157	2:47	58.8-9	4:85
18.169	1:47	58.66	3:179
18.271	4:11	59.52	1:76
19.57.3	4:13	59.89	1:47
19.81	2:77	59.91	3:189
19.120	2:187	59.116	2:204

Dialexeis

2.9 4:11

Dinarchus

1.73-4 1:35; 3:120

1.76 4:11

1.86 2:137

Dio Chrysostomus

12.40-3 2:202

39.1 2:111

47.601 2:75

50.1 1:37

Diodorus Siculus

1.31.7 2:79

1.46.4 1:27

1.50.6 1:27

2.28.7 2:75

2.45.4 3:164

4.33.9 3:156

5.6.2 2:57

5.12.1 3:166

5.12.1-3 3:166

5.12.4 3:166

5.20.2 3:166

5.84.3 2:109

11.2.7 2:207

11.49.4 3:137

11.54.1 2:58

11.60.2 3:157

11.65.2 2:72

12.31.1 4:78, 79, 113

12.47 2:106

12.47.3 2:119, 120

12.60.1 2:63

13.3.4 1:49

13.62 3:137

13.72.2 2:105

13.75.1 2:58

13.114.1 2:27, 41

14.7.2-3 1:29, 79

14.17 2:93

14.17.8 3:77

14.30.3 3:164

14.38.2 2:90

14.38.3 2:91

14.41.6 1:79

14.82 2:105

14.87.3 3:161

14.98.2 1:100

14.110.3 3:121

15.2.4 3:167

15.5 3:66

15.5.4 2:77

15.8.6 2:37

15.12.2 2:77

15.13.4 3:162

15.28.4 3:117

15.38.1-2 2:39

15.40.2 3:92

15.49 1:69

15.52.2 3:137

15.57.1 3:117

15.59.1 3:98

15.59.3 3:95, 102; 4:35

15.62.2 3:96

15.62.3 3:97

15.66 3:116

15.71.1 3:166

15.72.4 3:95

15.77.1 4:150

15.77.2 4:156

15.94.1 2:75

15.94.2 2:85; 3:83

15.95.2 3:156

16.2.6 2:116

16.41.1 3:167

16.41.4 3:167

16.60.1 2:77

16.68.4-5 1:74

15.72.4 2:64

16.83.3 1:38, 85

17.7.9 2:90

17.23.4 1:29

19.61.3 2:40

19.62.1 2:41

19.63 1:31

19.71.7 2:41

20.24.2 4:44

20.54.2-7 3:166

20.101.2 1:33

23.4.1 3:159

Diongenes Laërtius

2.52 4:133

9.58-9 3:14

Dionysius Geographicus (GGM I)

150 3:156

Dionysius Halicarnassensis

1.9.2 2:106

1.29.3 3:163

1.73.3 1:115

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|------------|
| 2.32.2 | 1:115 | <i>Hippolytus</i> | |
| 2.50.5 | 1:115 | 141-9 | 2:174 |
| 2.53 | 1:115 | | |
| 3.1.2 | 1:115 | <i>Medea</i> | |
| 3.44.4 | 1:115 | 771 | 2:131 |
| 3.50 | 1:115 | | |
| 3.50.4 | 1:115 | <i>Troades</i> | |
| 4.45.4 | 1:115 | 67f | 2:209 |
| 4.53 | 1:115 | | |
| 5.11.3 | 1:115 | <i>Fragments (Nauck)</i> | |
| 6.32 | 1:115 | 282 | 3:188 |
| 6.92 | 1:115 | | |
| 7.20 | 4:97 | <i>Eusebius</i> | |
| 8.18.1 | 1:115 | <i>Dem. Evang.</i> 3.7.29 | 3:72 |
| 10.21.3 | 1:115 | | |
| 10.24.6 | 1:115 | <i>Eustathius</i> | |
| 15.3 | 1:115 | <i>Comm. ad Dionys.</i> 549 | 4:55 |
| 20.3 | 1:115 | <i>Comm. ad Hom. Il.</i> 1.131 | 1:41 |
| | | <i>Comm. ad Hom. Il.</i> 1.133.17 | 4:135 |
| | | <i>Comm. ad Hom. Il.</i> 1.794.1 | 2:69 |
| Dionysius Periegetes | | | |
| 549ff | 4:51 | | |
| Ephorus (<i>FGrHist</i> 70) | | Frontinus | |
| Fr. 1 | 2:62, 65, 69 | <i>Strategemata</i> | |
| Fr. 55 | 2:66, 74 | 3.2.6 | 1:49, 51 |
| Fr. 76 | 1:100 | 4.7.22 | 1:49 |
| Fr. 79 | 2:76 | | |
| Fr. 115 | 3:66; 4:145 | Galenus | |
| Fr. 117 | 3:86 | <i>Ling. Hipp.</i> | |
| Fr. 129b | 4:89 | 19 p. 74 | 3:157 |
| Fr. 164 | 1:108 | | |
| Fr. 185 | 4:88 | Hanno | |
| Fr. 215 | 1:112 | | |
| Fr. 234 | 2:66; 3:66 | <i>Periplus</i> | |
| Etymologicum Magnum | | 2 | 3:167 |
| 219 | 3:159 | 6 | 3:166 |
| Euripides | | Harpocration | |
| <i>Alcestis</i> | | s.v. <i>Ainious</i> | 2:130, 131 |
| 476-80 | 2:66 | s.v. <i>Boulaia</i> | 2:11 |
| | | s.v. <i>Galepsos</i> | 4:17 |
| <i>Hercules furens</i> | | s.v. <i>Kebrena</i> | 2:91 |
| 1323 | 2:131 | s.v. <i>Mantineon dioikismos</i> | 2:76 |
| | | s.v. <i>myrioi</i> | 2:126 |
| <i>Iphigenia Aulidensis</i> | | s.v. <i>Myrioi en Megalei Polei</i> | 3:96 |
| 1500 | 2:131 | s.v. <i>naukrarika</i> | 4:88 |
| | | s.v. <i>Pandemos Aphrodite</i> | 1:44 |
| <i>Helena</i> | | s.v. <i>Parabyton</i> | 1:76 |
| 1301-68 | 2:174 | s.v. <i>Spartolos</i> | 2:119 |
| | | s.v. <i>Stryme</i> | 4:89 |
| | | s.v. <i>Torone</i> | 2:105 |

Hecataeus (*FGrHist* 1)

Fr. 3	4:26
Fr. 4	4:26
Fr. 43	4:18, 4:95
Fr. 48	4:18, 48
Fr. 67	4:18
Fr. 67a	4:95
Fr. 73	4:18, 95
Fr. 74	4:17
Fr. 80	4:18
Fr. 88	4:18, 95
Fr. 106	3:149; 4:18, 20, 95
Fr. 113	4:19
Fr. 113a	4:95
Fr. 115	2:131; 4:17
Fr. 116	4:19, 95
Fr. 118	4:26
Fr. 126	4:19, 25, 26
Fr. 129	4:19, 95
Fr. 131	4:17, 19, 95
Fr. 134	4:95
Fr. 141	4:17, 19, 95
Fr. 146	4:19, 95
Fr. 148	4:19, 95
Fr. 159	4:19, 89, 95
Fr. 160–2	4:89
Fr. 162	4:21
Fr. 163	4:19, 21, 89, 95
Fr. 164	4:21
Fr. 165	4:21
Fr. 166	4:17, 19
Fr. 172	2:198
Fr. 204	4:19, 22, 95
Fr. 208	4:19, 55
Fr. 217	4:17, 19, 21, 95
Fr. 221	4:95
Fr. 225	4:19
Fr. 229	4:19, 95
Fr. 233	4:37, 101
Fr. 266	4:19, 95
Fr. 275	4:18
Fr. 282	4:19, 95
Fr. 283	4:21
Fr. 287	4:19, 95
Fr. 292	4:19
Fr. 293	4:19, 21, 95
Fr. 299	4:18, 95
Fr. 304	4:19
Fr. 319	4:95
Fr. 343	4:95

Hegesippus (see Dem. 7)**Heliodorus***Aethiopica*

4.19	1:53
------	------

Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4)

Fr. 117	4:23
Fr. 162	4:158

Hellenica Oxyrhynchia

17.3	3:85
19.2–4	2:35, 56; 3:40, 64, 4:12, 20
20.3	2:58; 3:85; 4:34
24.1	2:27, 38
24.1–3	2:78
24.2–3	2:64

Heraclides (*GGM* I 105)

28	4:96
29	4:86

Hermias of Methymna (*FHG* II 80 = *FGrHist* 558)

Fr. 2	4:33, 91
-------	----------

Herodianus

373.20	4:60
--------	------

Herodotus

1.16	2:76
1.19	2:206
1.30.1	1:27
1.37	1:46
1.56.3	1:111
1.57	2:130
1.57.1	1:111
1.59.6	1:26
1.66.1–2	3:50
1.66.3	3:50
1.67.4	3:40, 50
1.92.2	3:35
1.96.1	2:27, 34; 3:123
1.96.2	2:78
1.98	2:130
1.98.5	1:27
1.101	1:107, 110
1.125.3	1:110
1.127.1	3:33
1.141.4	2:131; 3:3
1.142	1:111; 2:109
1.142.3	1:108
1.142.4	4:22

1.143.2	2:130	2.178.2-3	3:18, 24, 26, 159, 160,
1.143.3	1:111		162, 163, 188; 4:22
1.148.1	1:111; 3:24	2.178-9	4:88
1.149.1	1:111; 2:90, 92; 3:157,	2.179	3:31
	161; 4:22-3	2.179.1	4:32, 84, 87
1.150	2:92	2.180	3:34
1.150.2	3:161	2.182	3:34
1.151.2	1:107, 111; 3:40	2.182.1	3:34
1.153	1:46; 4:96	2.234.2	4:34
1.153.1	3:72	3.1.1	3:18
1.153.2	3:35	3.4.1	3:18
1.160	2:71	3.5	4:87
1.162.2	2:88, 128	3.5.3	1:111
1.165.1	1:111	3.43.2	4:96
1.167.3	1:111	3.47	3:34
1.170.1	3:32	3.57	1:33, 36
1.170.3	1:86, 111; 2:56	3.58.4	2:88
1.171.6	2:79	3.64.3	1:111
1.172.2	1:108	3.92.1	4:20
1.173.1	2:109	3.93.1	4:19
1.178	2:130; 3:185	3.93.2	1:111
1.179.4	1:111	3.93.3	4:20
1.182.2	3:162	3.94.1	1:111
1.185-92	1:79	3.102.1	1:108
2.3.1	1:111	3.117.1	4:20
2.10	2:93	3.123.1	1:26
2.11.2	1:111	3.139	3:28
2.29.6	1:111	3.139.1	3:37
2.30.1	1:111	3.142-3	3:32
2.33.3	4:94	4.3.2	4:112
2.48.2	2:79	4.11-12	4:113
2.59.2	1:111	4.15.1	3:163
2.91.1	1:111	4.17	4:87
2.97.2	1:111	4.17.1	4:20, 87, 88, 101, 107,
2.98.1	1:111		109, 110
2.121a	1:27	4.18.1	4:101, 110
2.135	3:29	4.20	4:88, 112
2.138.2	3:72	4.20-4	4:110
2.140.2	1:107	4.20.1	4:107, 111, 112, 113, 114
2.148.1	1:111	4.24	4:107, 109, 115
2.152.5	3:36	4.24.1	4:88, 101, 110
2.154	3:29	4.28	4:72, 113, 114, 115
2.159.2	1:111	4.44.1	3:160
2.159.3	3:34	4.44.2	1:108
2.163	3:34	4.45	4:113
2.163.2	1:111	4.46	4:78
2.164.2	1:111	4.51	4:110, 114
2.171.3	3:50	4.52.3	4:20
2.172-82	3:35	4.53	4:101
2.175-6	3:34	4.53.1	4:110
2.177.1	2:79	4.53.6	4:101, 109
2.178	2:206; 3:28	4.55	4:115
2.178.1	3:29; 4:32, 89	4.76	2:173

4.78-9	4:109, 110	6.6.1	2:131
4.78.1	4:110	6.20	1:107, 111
4.78.3	3:162; 4:101	6.23.4	1:111
4.78.5	4:101	6.27	4:11
4.79.2	4:89, 101	6.27.2	4:22
4.86	4:66	6.29	3:158
4.86.3	4:114	6.34.1	4:21
4.90.2	1:111	6.36.1	4:21
4.93	1:108	6.36.2	4:21
4.99.2	4:115	6.38.1	4:21
4.99.3	1:111	6.39.2	4:21
4.100	4:113	6.54	1:46
4.101.2	4:110, 114	6.58.1	2:55; 3:150
4.108	4:115	6.72	3:53
4.108.1	1:111	6.74	3:40, 50
4.108.2	4:107	6.74.1	3:44, 51
4.110	4:112	6.75.1	3:50
4.110.2	4:107, 111, 113	6.83	3:40
4.110.3	4:114	6.83.2	3:50
4.148	3:43, 75; 4:134	6.84	4:78
4.148.4	4:134, 137, 143	6.97.2	3:35
4.152	3:36; 4:89	6.127	3:110
4.154.1	1:111	6.127.3	3:40, 50
4.158-9	1:111	6.127.4	3:171
4.160-204	3:158	6.140.2	4:33
4.161.2	2:60; 3:40, 50	7.7	3:28
4.168ff.	1:111	7.8g3	4:11, 12
4.175	3:160	7.26	1:46
4.196	3:37	7.30.1	1:111
4.202.2	3:158	7.30.2	1:111
4.204.1	2:65	7.31	1:111
5.2.2	4:11	7.42.1	1:111
5.23.2	3:33	7.58	2:112
5.37	3:160	7.58.2	3:157; 4:21
5.46	1:46	7.58.3	3:157
5.49.3	3:23	7.79	1:111
5.49.8	3:50	7.90	3:50
5.58	4:120	7.96.2	4:12
5.62.3	1:23	7.99.2	3:160
5.66.1	2:203	7.107.2	4:89
5.67	1:33	7.108.2	1:111; 4:25, 32, 36
5.69.2	2:71	7.109	2:112, 114
5.74	2:71	7.109.1	3:158, 161; 4:24
5.82	3:32	7.109.2	4:32, 88
5.89	3:32	7.113.1	4:18, 89
5.91-3	3:78	7.113.2	1:110
5.92	2:71	7.115	2:106, 112, 131
5.98.1	2:66	7.115.2	4:123
5.103	3:160	7.117	2:75
5.104.3	3:163	7.122	1:111; 2:109, 112, 122, 128
5.113.1	1:111		
5.113.2	3:163	7.123	2:112
5.115.2	3:163	7.123.1	3:194; 4:123, 125

7.123.2	2:106, 123; 3:157; 4:25, 124, 126	8.108.8	4:11
7.123.3	1:111; 2:106; 4:19	8.125	2:74
7.124	2:131; 3:167	8.127	2:106, 109, 122
7.124.1	4:19	8.140.1	2:34
7.127.1	2:106	9.7ff	4:142
7.132	4:142	9.7a2	3:23
7.145.2	4:142	9.10.1	4:142
7.148	4. 142	9.15.3	4:120
7.148.3	1:38	9.27.1	3:50
7.148-9	4:142	9.28	3:76
7.154.2	3:164	9.28.1	3:50
7.155.2	1:111; 3:64, 69	9.28.2	3:185
7.158	4:87	9.28.3-4	3:50
7.158-62	4:142	9.28.4	3:40; 4:136, 143, 152
7.170.4	3:50	9.34.1	1:95
7.172	4:143	9.35.2	3:44, 50, 51, 56, 88
7.172.1	4:142	9.37	3:53
7.175	3:141	9.65.2	1:29
7.176.2	2:62, 65	9.75	1:107, 111
7.176.3	3:141	9.77	3:50; 4:143
7.176.5	2:62, 65	9.93.1	3:149, 162
7.185.1-2	2:108	9.106.3	4:87
7.197	1:32	9.106.4	4:141
7.199.1	3:141		
7.200.2	2:62, 65	Hesiodus	
7.202	3:50, 79	<i>Opera et Dies</i>	
7.204	4:143	639-40	2:51, 62, 65, 69
7.213-4	3:33	646	4:94
7.216.1	2:62, 65		
7.220	2:55	<i>Fragments (MW)</i>	
7.234	3:73	43a61-2	2:51
7.234.2	2:25, 55, 74, 131; 3:115, 175, 193	Hesychius	
8.2.2-3.1	4:142	s.v. <i>Belbina</i>	2:65
8.23.2	2:63	2.420.6	2:65
8.26.1	3:50		
8.32.1	1:111	Hippocrates	
8.36.2	2:47		
8.42.1	4:10, 33	<i>De aere, aquis, locis</i>	
8.42.2	4:21	15	4:86
8.43-8	4:10	16	3:123
8.45.1	4:33	16.35	2:34
8.46.2	4:21		
8.46.4	3:156	Homerus	
8.49.1	4:10, 21, 33		
8.49.2ff	4:142	<i>Ilias</i>	
8.51	2:205	1.39	1:25
8.72	3:50	2.494ff	1:110
8.73.1	3:50	2.647-8	1:109
8.73.2	1:111; 3:154	2.92	1:45
8.87.2-3	1:108, 111	2.144	1:45
8.106	3:158	2.149	1:45

- | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 2.531 | 4:23 | 2.9 | 3:8 |
| 2.522 | 2:213 | 2.19 | 3:8 |
| 2.559 | 1:110 | 2.24 | 3:8 |
| 2.608 | 3:110 | 2.31 | 3:8 |
| 2.788 | 1:45 | 3.13 | 3:8 |
| 2.808 | 1:45 | 4.42 | 4:98, 100 |
| 2.828 | 1:110 | 4.70 | 4:11 |
| 4.51-4 | 2:209 | 4.115-17 | 2:39 |
| 5.446 | 1:25 | 4.117 | 2:34, 35 |
| 6.242-50 | 1:26 | 4.125-6 | 3:91 |
| 6.297-300 | 1:25 | 4.175-6 | 2:34, 35, 39; 3:118 |
| 6.300 | 2:203 | 7.4 | 2:105 |
| 7.83 | 1:25 | 7.46 | 2:57, 69 |
| 7.135 | 1:110 | 8.16 | 2:39; 3:122 |
| 9.149 | 1:110 | 8.17 | 3:114 |
| 9.382-4 | 3:36 | 8.68 | 2:39 |
| 9.395 | 1:110 | 9.47 | 4:86 |
| 13.6 | 1:120 | 9.49-50 | 3:8 |
| 18.497 | 1:45 | 9.52-57 | 3:8 |
| 18.504 | 1:52 | 10.35 | 2:56 |
| <i>Odyssea</i> | | 12.178-81 | 2:25; 3:73 |
| 2.7 | 1:45 | 12.179 | 2:25, 74; 3:73, 115, 116; |
| 2.10 | 1:45 | | 4:34 |
| 2.26 | 1:45 | 12.180 | 3:73 |
| 2.37 | 1:45 | 14.1 | 3:116 |
| 2.239 | 1:63 | 14.5 | 3:116 |
| 2.257 | 1:45 | 14.10 | 2:35, 39; 3:118, 133; 4:34 |
| 2.319 | 4:94 | 14.12 | 3:116 |
| 4.14-8 | 2:204 | 14.14 | 3:116 |
| 4.484-6 | 1:110 | 14.17 | 2:35, 39; 3:116, 118, 133; |
| 6.9 | 2:207 | | 4:34 |
| 6.10 | 2:206 | 14.24 | 2:35, 39 |
| 6.266 | 1:25, 45 | 14.31 | 2:206 |
| 7.18 | 1:26 | 14.39 | 3:116 |
| 8.1 | 1:45 | 14.44 | 3:114 |
| 8.6 | 1:52 | 15.299 | 2:61 |
| 8.161-4 | 3:37 | | |
| 10.114 | 1:45 | Josephus | |
| 12.346 | 2:206 | <i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i> | |
| 24.300 | 4:94 | 5.83 | 1:116 |
| Hyperides | | 5.85 | 1:115 |
| 1.9 | 1:63 | 5.105 | 1:115 |
| 2.18 | 2:37, 45; 3:64, 147 | 5.121 | 1:115 |
| 4.16 | 2:206 | 5.274 | 1:115 |
| 4.25 | 2:206 | 5.286 | 1:116 |
| Isacus | | 6.67 | 1:115 |
| 5.42 | 2:121 | 6.78 | 1:115 |
| 9.34 | 3:132 | 6.105 | 1:115 |
| Isocrates | | 6.330 | 1:116 |
| | | 6.242 | 1:116 |
| | | 6.375 | 1:116 |
| | | 13.223 | 3:166 |

Bellum Judaicum

1.418	1:116
3.111	1:116
3.159	1:116

Vita

188	1:116
-----	-------

Julianus Imperator

<i>Or.</i> 5.159a	2:173
-------------------	-------

Justinus

6.6.1	3:122
22.2.10	1:49

Libanius

11.76	2:111
11.88	2:111

Livius

3.34	3:167
13.37	2:180
24.35.1	3:159
24.39.4-5	1:49
32.5.3-4	4:131
33.20.4-5	3:160
33.28.4	1:51
34.16.4	4:90
36.11.6	3:35
44.9.1	3:166
45.28-9	4:118

Lycurgus***Against Leocrates***

25	2:204
26	2:208
73	2:40
79	1:95

Lycus of Rhegium (FGrHist 570)

<i>Fr.</i> 12	1:106
---------------	-------

Lysias

1.8	4:96
6.51	2:205
13.12	2:188
13.37	2:151
22.14	4:87
30.11	2:188
37	2:204

Malalas***Chronographia***

205	1:38
211	1:38

Menander***Aspis***

30-2	2:64
------	------

Samia

325	2:131
-----	-------

Moschion (Nauck)

<i>Fr.</i> 6.6-8	2:57
------------------	------

Pausanias

1.3.5	2:137, 189
1.9.3	2:216
1.23.1	2:216
1.28.8-11	1:77
1.34.1	2:115
1.42.4	1:40
1.43.3	1:40
1.43.8	3:142
1.44.4	1:116
1.44.10	3:24
2.8.1	1:27
2.22.4	2:209
2.24.7	2:218
2.25.7	2:216
2.26.2	2:217
2.26.7	2:217
2.29.7-8	3:24
2.30.6	2:209
2.36.1	2:218
3.2.2	1:116
3.2.6	1:116; 2:74; 4:34
3.4.3	2:217
3.5.6	2:217; 3:53
3.6.2	2:25; 3:115
3.6.8	2:217
3.8.3	4:140
3.11.2	1:41
3.11.8	2:214
3.11.10-1	1:34
3.12.6	4:142
3.12.10	1:44
3.19.6	2:55
3.21.7	1:116; 3:153, 154, 155, 156
3.22.8	2:214

3.22.9	2:219	7.10.1	2:217
3.22.11	3:153, 156	7.13.8	2:217
3.22.11-13	2:218	7.17.6	3:173
3.23.3	4:84	7.18.1	2:214
3.24.1	2:214	7.18.2	1:116
3.24.3	3:156	7.18.6	2:214
3.25.9	2:218	7.23.1	2:218
3.26.11	2:214	7.24.5-25.4	2:218
4.5.6	2:217	7.24.13	2:219
4.5.9	1:116	8.3.2	1:116
4.12.5-6	1:48	8.3.2-3	1:116
4.17.10	2:214	8.3.3	1:116
4.23.4	2:214	8.3.4	1:116
4.31.3	1:116	8.5.4	3:110
4.33.6	2:218	8.7.4	2:213
4.33.7	2:218	8.9.7	1:116
4.35.2	3:156	8.12.1	2:214
5.2.2	2:217	8.12.7	2:62, 213
5.4.3	2:581	8.13.1	2:216
5.5.3	2:214; 3:77, 141	8.13.5	1:116
5.5.5	4:153	8.17.6	2:213, 214, 218
5.6.4	2:219; 4:138	8.18.7	2:218
5.6.6	1:88	8.23.3	2:214
5.13.11	1:87	8.23.9	2:213
5.15.8-12	1:87, 88	8.25.1	2:107, 213
5.16.6	2:71	8.26.5	2:214
5.20.10	1:87	8.26.8	1:116
5.22.3	2:214	8.27	3:99
5.23.6	2:218	8.27.2	2:85; 3:95, 101; 4:35, 158, 160
5.23.7	2:216; 3:48, 109	8.27.3	1:116; 2:84; 3:95, 102; 4; 35, 159, 163
5.26.6	3:48	8.27.4	1:116; 3:84, 102, 107, 110; 4:155
6.1.3	3:187	8.27.5	3:99; 4:158
6.3.7	3:180	8.28.1	2:214
6.3.8	3:173	8.28.4	2:214
6.3.9	4:153	8.28.7	2:218
6.5.2	1:49	8.29.1	2:219
6.6.1	3:177; 4:158	8.29.5	1:116; 2:219
6.7.1	3:188	8.30.9	1:40
6.8.2	4:158-9	8.32.1	3:96
6.8.5	3:110; 4:158	8.33	2:213
6.9.9	2:60	8.33.2	4:84
6.10.8-9	3:175, 189	8.34.6	1:116; 2:218
6.13.8	2:218	8.35.3-4	1:116
6.18.6	3:188	8.35.6-7	2:218
6.21.6	2:219	8.35.5	2:218
6.21.8	2:218	8.35.9	2:219
6.21.11	2:214	8.36.1	3:85
6.22.4	4:138	8.36.7	2:218; 4:175
6.23.7	1:39, 88	8.36.10	2:218
6.24.2	1:79	8.38.3	2:214
6.26.3	2:59		
6.26.4	2:214		
7.5.2-3	2:76		

- | | | | |
|----------|--------------------------|---|---------------------|
| 8.38.7 | 3:56 | 9.39.1-2 | 2:50 |
| 8.39.3-5 | 3:110 | 9.40.2 | 1:116 |
| 8.41.1 | 3:116 | 9.40.5-6 | 2:50 |
| 8.43.1 | 2:71, 215 | 10.1.2 | 4:23 |
| 8.43.3 | 2:217 | 10.3.1-2 | 2:77; 3:153 |
| 8.44.1 | 1:116; 2:218 | 10.4.1 | 1:120; 2:215 |
| 8.44.2 | 4:173 | 10.7.7 | 2:60 |
| 8.44.3 | 4:163, 165 | 10.12.4 | 2:218 |
| 8.44.4 | 4:165 | 10.17.5 | 1:116 |
| 8.47.5 | 2:208 | 10.17.9 | 1:116 |
| 8.49.4 | 2:217 | 10.18.3 | 2:214 |
| 9.1.1-2 | 2:49 | 10.23.12 | 2:217 |
| 9.2.1 | 2:49, 218 | 10.32.8-11 | 1:116, 214 |
| 9.2.13 | 2:35 | 10.33.1 | 2:215, 218 |
| 9.4.4 | 2:49, 70 | 10.33.3 | 2:217 |
| 9.7.6 | 2:49 | 10.33.6 | 1:116 |
| 9.8.1 | 2:49 | 10.33.7-8 | 2:213, 218 |
| 9.13.2 | 2:25, 74; 3:73, 115, 134 | 10.33.9 | 1:116 |
| 9.14.2 | 2:49 | 10.33.12 | 1:116 |
| 9.14.5 | 3:116 | 10.35.6 | 1:39 |
| 9.19.1 | 2:49 | 10.38.8 | 2:214 |
| 9.19.2 | 2:49 | | |
| 9.19.4 | 1:116; 2:49, 70, 218 | Pherecydes (<i>FGrHist</i> 3) | |
| 9.19.5 | 4:31 | Fr. 135a | 2:85 |
| 9.19.8 | 4:31 | Fr. 135b | 4:158 |
| 9.20.1 | 2:49 | Fr. 156 | 4:135 |
| 9.20.2 | 2:49 | Fr. 161 | 4:134 |
| 9.22.5 | 2:49 | Fr. 168 | 3:64, 73, 147; 4:34 |
| 9.23.5 | 1:116; 2:49, 214 | | |
| 9.23.6 | 2:49 | Philo | |
| 9.23.7 | 2:49 | <i>De conf. ling.</i> 83 | 1:29 |
| 9.24.1 | 2:49 | <i>De sobr.</i> 57 | 1:57 |
| 9.24.3 | 2:49, 70 | | |
| 9.24.4 | 2:49 | Philochorus (<i>FGrHist</i> 328) | |
| 9.24.5 | 1:116; 2:49 | Fr. 2b | 2:57 |
| 9.25 | 1:116 | Fr. 43 | 4:89 |
| 9.25.3 | 2:173 | Fr. 94 | 4:26 |
| 9.25.6 | 2:49 | | |
| 9.26.5 | 2:49, 212, 218 | Phlegon (<i>FGrHist</i> 415) | |
| 9.26.6 | 2:49 | Fr. 1.23 | 4:159 |
| 9.29.1-2 | 2:70 | Fr. 1.29 | 4:158 |
| 9.32.1 | 2:49 | | |
| 9.32.2 | 2:49 | Photius | |
| 9.32.4 | 2:49, 214 | <i>Bibliotheca</i> | |
| 9.32.5 | 2:49 | s.v. <i>anaktoron</i> | 1:29 |
| 9.33.5 | 2:49, 69 | s.v. <i>metragyrtes</i> | 2:173, 177 |
| 9.34.6 | 2:50 | 186.135A | 2:109 |
| 9.34.9 | 2:216 | 190.151A | 3:188 |
| 9.34.10 | 2:49, 70 | | |
| 9.36.1-2 | 2:50 | | |
| 9.36.6 | 2:49, 50, 70 | | |
| 9.37.3 | 2:217 | | |
| 9.38.9 | 1:116; 2:50 | | |

Pindarus*Nemean Odes*

5.9-11	3:23
10.48	3:60
11.1-9	1:34

Olympian Odes

9.95-6	3:60
13.108	3:60

Paeanes

6.125-6	3:23
---------	------

Pythian Odes

3.77-9	2:173
--------	-------

Fragments (Snell)

79-80	2:173
-------	-------

Plato*Apologia*

17C

Cratylus

429E	3:177
------	-------

Critias

112C	1:81
116C-117D	1:27

Epistulae

349C-50A	1:29
----------	------

Gorgias

473D	4:35
525A	3:114

Hipparchus

228B	1:25
------	------

Leges

627A	2:57
676B	2:57
677C	2:57
678A	2:57
680D-81A	2:57
697D	4:11
746D-E	2:63
753D	2:63
760B-63C	2:63
762A	2:63

848C-E	2:62
871A	3:34
910B-E	2:204
917E	1:80
956C	2:63

Politicus

289E	4:87
293C-D	3:8

Protagoras

315c	2:180
325e	2:180

Respublica

327A-328B	2:174
348D	4:11
369C	2:57
371B-D	4:96
473C-E	3:8
475D	2:51
599D	3:175

Symposium

211D	3:183
------	-------

Plato Comicus

Fr. 190	4:96
---------	------

Plinius Maior*Naturalis Historia*

3.92	3:166
4.26	4:44
4.36	2:114
4.38	4:118
4.86	4:64
4.87	4:60
5.22.93	3:158
5.29	2:76
5.75	3:167
5.86	4:64
6.2.5	3:160
6.2.6	3:159
6.6	3:149, 159
6.9	3:164
6.10	3:161
6.18	4:66
7.23	3:14
8.22.6	3:163
34.41	3:179
36.17	2:137, 189

Plutarchus*Moralia*

295B	2:53, 64, 72
299C	2:53, 70
304B	1:41, 46
400F	2:204
449E	3:14
755C	1:41
783B-F	2:202
799E-F	1:49

Vitae

<i>Aem.</i> 36.3	3:35
<i>Ages.</i> 28	3:115, 117
<i>Ages.</i> 28.1-3	3:73, 74, 135
<i>Alc.</i> 16.5	1:81
<i>Alc.</i> 18.3	2:175
<i>Alc.</i> 22.5	2:205
<i>Alc.</i> 33.3	2:205
<i>Alex.</i> 34.2	2:34
<i>Arat.</i> 8.6	1:48
<i>Arat.</i> 23.1	1:48
<i>Arist.</i> 20.4	1:31
<i>Cleom.</i> 19.1	1:40
<i>Dion.</i> 29.7	1:29
<i>Flam.</i> 12	3:35
<i>Lyc.</i> 6	1:44; 2:206
<i>Lyc.</i> 11	1:44
<i>Marc.</i> 20.3	1:49
<i>Nic.</i> 13.2	2:175
<i>Nic.</i> 13.7	2:175
<i>Pel.</i> 30.7	2:40
<i>Pel.</i> 35.3	2:37
<i>Per.</i> 17.1	1:85
<i>Per.</i> 20	2:195
<i>Per.</i> 20.1-2	4:80
<i>Per.</i> 30	3:34
<i>Phoc.</i> 18.6	1:81
<i>Sol.</i> 8.2	1:44
<i>Sol.</i> 12.7-8	2:14
<i>Sol.</i> 19.3	1:31
<i>Sol.</i> 21.6	2:14
<i>Sol.</i> 30.1	1:44
<i>Them.</i> 10.4	2:207
<i>Them.</i> 19.6	1:44
<i>Them.</i> 22.2	1:81; 2:207
<i>Thes.</i> 16.2	2:109, 126
<i>Tim.</i> 10.1-4	1:74
<i>Tim.</i> 22.2	1:29, 78
<i>Tim.</i> 34.6	1:49
<i>Tim.</i> 38.6	1:49

Polemon (*FHG* III 108-48)

Peri ton en Lakedaimoni poleon
2:25; 3:115; 4:34

Pollux

4.122	1:80
-------	------

Polyaenus*Strategemata*

1.40.4	1:49
2.10.3	3:88
2.30.2	1:39
8.21	1:49

Polybius

1.23.2	3:161
1.24.10	1:113
1.24.11	1:113
1.38.7-10	1:113
1.82.7-8	3:166
2.11.11	3:159
2.11.15	1:113
2.16.2	3:167
3.14.1	1:113
3.14.3	1:113
3.18.8-11	3:162
3.19.12	1:113
3.24.2	1:113
3.39.7	4:94
3.76.2	4:94
3.82.9	1:113
3.88.5	1:113
3.91.3-4	1:113
4.63.7	1:113
4.77.5	4:129
4.77.7	4:129
4.77.8	2:88; 4:129, 131
4.77.9	1:113; 4:131, 132, 154
4.77.10	2:86; 4; 131
4.78-9	4:131
4.79.1	4:129, 131
4.79.3	4:131
4.79.5	4:129
4.80.1	4:132
4.80.2	4:132
4.80.3	4:132
4.80.5	4:132
4.80.7	4:132
4.80.13	1:113; 2:88; 4:131
4.80.14	4:129, 131
4.80.15	4:129
4.81.1	4:129

5.6.6	1:113	12	3:163
5.7.8	1:113	13	3:138, 140, 159, 161, 164
5.25.5	1:48	14	3:159
5.27.4	4:129	15	3:158
5.44.1	2:78	17	3:167
5.48.16	1:113	22	3:165
5.66.1	3:166	23	3:159, 162
5.68.6	3:167	24	4:87
5.68.8	3:167	25	3:159
7.6.1-2	1:46, 78	26	3:149, 158, 162
8.3.2	1:79	27	3:159
9.29.2	1:113	28-32	2:63
9.27.9	1:79	29	3:138, 160
11.9.8	1:38	33	3:140, 158, 169
11.11.6	2:85	34	3:138, 142, 153, 154, 155, 156
15.23.2	1:49	35	3:156
18.42.7	4:129	36	3:142, 153, 154; 4:24
18.47.10	4:129	37	3:138, 153, 154
28.11	3:166	38	3:141, 147, 156
32.9.2	3:159	40	3:141, 155
Pomponius Mela		41	3:156
1.29	3:163	42	3:141
2.3	4:60	43	3:140, 154, 155, 157
Porphyrius		44	3:141; 4:156, 175
		45	3:142, 155
<i>De abstinentia</i>		46	2:25, 74, 131; 3:115, 140, 141, 142, 153, 154, 155, 156; 4:34
4.22	2:203	47	3:154, 155, 156
Posidonius (Theiler)		48	3:156
Fr. 368/9	2:202	49	3:156
Pseudo-Arrianus		50	3:154
		51	3:153, 154
<i>Periplus Ponti Euxini</i>		52	3:155, 157
20	3:149, 159	53	3:138, 153
24	3:152, 159	54	3:154
28	3:161	55	3:141
29	3:164	56	3:141, 155
39	3:164	57	2:45; 3:140, 141, 156
62	4:66	58	2:37; 3:138, 140, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157; 4:21
69	4:62	59	2:70
76	4:60, 62, 64,	61	3:138
77	4:50	62	3:141, 154, 155
Pseudo-Scylax		64	3:155
1	3:166; 4:87	66	2:45, 112, 131; 3:140, 142, 151, 157, 158, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167; 4:19, 118, 125
2	3:159; 4:88		2:37, 112, 114, 193;
4	3:161	67	3:138, 140, 142, 157, 158, 159, 161, 162, 163, 164;
5	3:167		
7	3:138		
10	3:149, 160, 161, 163; 4:99		

	4:21, 24, 87, 88, 89, 95, 120	Pseudo-Xenophon	
67-8	4:95	<i>Athenaion Politeia</i>	
68	3:140, 162; 4:50, 60, 64, 88, 95, 99, 101, 116	2.3	2:38
72	3:162	Ptolemaeus	
74	3:165; 4:68		
81	3:158, 162, 165	<i>Geographia</i>	
83	3:164, 165	3.5.2	2:197
84	3:165	3.5.4	4:115
85	3:164	3.6.3	4:60, 62
86	4:22	3.6.4	4:71
88	3:158, 164	3.6.5	4:64
89	3:149, 152, 159, 161, 163, 164, 165	3.12.13	4:118
90	3:159, 160, 163, 164, 165	3.13.36	2:113
91	3:159	4.2.2	3:163
92	3:138, 158	4.3.13	3:160
93	3:142, 160, 161, 165	4.3.47	3:166
94	3:163	4.5.28	3:166
96	2:91	5.3.1-2	4:117
97	3:138, 161, 163	5.6.6	3:165
98	3:138, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 181	5.8.3	3:163
99	3:138, 150, 159, 160, 161, 163, 165	5.8.4	4:66
100	2:129; 3:159, 161, 162, 163, 164	5.8.8	4:66
101	3:158, 160, 163, 164	5.9.9	3:165
102	3:158, 159, 160, 161, 163, 164; 4:24, 89	5.27.93	3:160
103	3:138, 161, 163	Rhetorica ad Alexandrum	
104	3:164, 165, 166, 167	1420a22	2:38
107	2:66; 3:158, 165	Scholia in Aeschinem	
108	3:159	2.45	2:171
109	3:151, 160	3.187	2:178
110	3:164, 165, 166	Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium	
111	3:147, 158, 163, 165, 166	399	4:64
112	3:166, 167	Scholia in Aristophanem	
Pseudo-Scymnus		<i>Eq.</i> 262	4:21
204	3:159	<i>Eq.</i> 641	2:148
288	3:161	<i>Eq.</i> 675	2:148, 185
426	3:162	<i>Eq.</i> 1253	3:23, 24
441	3:150, 162	<i>Pax</i> 242	3:156
634	2:118	<i>Plut.</i> 431	2:173
796-800	4:115	<i>Vesp.</i> 1191	3:181
884	4:51	Scholia in Pindarum	
886-9	4:66	<i>Nem.</i> 5.9-11	3:24
953	3:159	<i>Ol.</i> 1.149b	3:72
		<i>Pyth.</i> 3.137b	2:173

Sophocles		32.10	1:106
		33.3	1:113
<i>Antigone</i>		35.12	1:114
370-1	2:57	37.17	1:114
		40.5	1:114
<i>Oedipus Coloneus</i>		40.7	1:111
1497	2:131	41.8	1:105
		43.11	1:114
<i>Electra</i>		44.4	1:116
277-85	2:17	45.11	1:106
		45.13	1:114
<i>Philoctetes</i>		50.4	1:116
391-402	2:174	51.4	1:114
1424	2:131	52.1	1:114
		53.15	1:110
Sophron		56.5	1:116
Fr. 106 (Bo)	2:66	56.20	1:114
		57.7	4:85
Stadiasmus Mari Magni		61.19	1:114
1	3:158	63.1	1:116
169	3:164	63.5	3:174
		65.13	1:114
Stephanus Byzantius (Meineke)		68.5	1:116
s.v. <i>Aioleion</i>	2:117	68.12	2:69
s.v. <i>Asai</i>	2:65	69.5	1:111
s.v. <i>Bouphia</i>	2:65	73.11	1:103
s.v. <i>Gorgippeia</i>	4:66	75.17	1:111
s.v. <i>Hermonassa</i>	4:55	77.9	4:136
s.v. <i>Kyta</i>	4:64	80.7	1:123
s.v. <i>Mekyberna</i>	2:117	83.8	1:114
s.v. <i>Myrmekion</i>	4:60	83.10	1:114, 115
s.v. <i>Nostia</i>	2:66	83.21	1:113
s.v. <i>Olpai</i>	1:77	84.19	1:114
s.v. <i>Orgame</i>	2:198	85.18	1:116
s.v. <i>Patrasys</i>	4:64	85.22	1:114
s.v. <i>Porthmia</i>	4:62	86.9	1:123
s.v. <i>Praxilos</i>	2:124	86.16	1:114
s.v. <i>Spartolos</i>	2:119	87.10	1:107
s.v. <i>Tindion</i>	2:123	89.10	1:116
s.v. <i>Tyritake</i>	4:62	89.12	1:114
s.v. <i>Tyros</i>	2:74	89.19	4:138
s.v. <i>Phrixa</i>	4:135	89.19-90.2	2:87
2.8	1:104	90.3	1:116
4.4	1:105	92.16	1:112
6.16	1:118	93.5	1:114
9.7	1:106; 3:166	94.12	1:114
9.8	1:113	100.11	1:114
9.19	1:122	100.17	1:106
13.14	1:111, 121	102.6	1:111
20.3	1:103	102.16	1:110
20.15	1:120	106.6	1:114
24.17	1:115	106.12	1:113
31.3	1:113	107.8	1:120

110.10	1:114, 115	191.15	1:115
111.5	1:114	191.17	1:115
111.11	1:113	191.20	1:114
111.13	1:113	192.2	1:115
112.13	1:112	192.7	1:115
115.19	1:114	192.9	3:159
118.10	1:115	193.9	1:123
119.10	1:107, 111	194.15	1:106
121.6	1:115	198.21	1:114
122.6	1:116; 2:69	201.1	4:136
124.6	1:116	201.12	1:111
128.1	1:114	203.13	1:116
128.4	1:110, 111	205.3	1:106
128.8	1:114	206.12-4	4:26, 136
129.13	1:111	213.10	1:114, 121
131.3	4:85	218.6	1:114
133.9	1:115	219.6	1:124
133.12	2:70	221.3	1:107, 111
135.8	1:116	224.1	1:114
135.18	1:111	225.5	1:112
138.13	1:110	229.2	1:123
138.17	1:118	229.4	1:124
140.11	1:123	232.7	1:112
147.1	2:70	237.19	1:113
148.4	1:111	237.21	1:114, 115
152.9	1:105	238.1	1:109
152.13	1:104	238.9	1:113
152.23	1:106, 123	239.16	1:114
156.13	1:114	239.18	1:116
156.20	1:115	240.3	4:89
158.9	1:103	241.15	1:120
159.17	4:85	243.7	1:114
160.5	1:116	254.20	1:121
161.12	1:116	255.2-4	1:116
161.13	1:104	255.7	1:121
162.6	1:106	255.16	1:122
168.5	4:85	261.10	1:111
170.6	1:116	263.7	1:111, 121
171.6	4:89	264.8	1:123
171.3	1:103	264.14	1:107
172.1	1:103	264.16	1:121
172.17	1:115	265.17	1:121
174.3	3:174	266.16	2:70
174.16	1:122	267.5	1:114, 115
176.14	1:103	268.1	4:85
180.17	1:106	268.3	1:110
181.3	1:123	269.3	1:113
182.3	1:106	269.19	1:123
183.9	1:107, 110	270.17	4:90
183.10	1:111	271.6	1:110
183.21	1:106	272.8	1:112
184.9	1:116	273.12	3:154
189.7	3:156	274.15	1:113

278.10-15	4:23	337.11	1:111
280.6	1:111	338.21	2:70
280.8	1:102-3	339.14	1:123
283.12	3:95	341.7	1:123
283.14-15	2:84	344.4	1:116
285.17	1:114	344.6	1:114, 115
286.16	2:69	344.12	1:106
287.19	1:112	345.8	1:116
287.20	2:84	346.7	1:114, 115
287.21	2:70	347.6	1:114
288.17	1:108	347.16	1:116
288.18	1:111	347.22	1:111
290.7ff	1:110	348.17	1:111
292.9	1:115	348.19	1:113
294.15	1:114	350.16	1:108, 111
294.22	1:115	350.18	1:111
295.17	3:164	351.6	1:115
296.11	1:114	352.7	1:114
297.11	1:116	355.1	1:114
297.15	1:114	355.6	1:114
298.8	4:89	355.13	1:124
298.22	1:112; 4:18	357.15	1:110
300.17	1:111	357.16	1:111
303.20	1:123	358.14	1:111
304.12	1:114	358.17	1:121
304.18	1:112	364.1	1:111
306.3	1:105	364.8	1:108
306.7	1:111	364.10	1:108, 111
306.10	1:116	366.3	1:113
306.14	1:123	370.18	4:124
308.1	1:114	373.13	1:121
308.9	1:116	373.14	1:124
309.7	1:114	374.7	1:115
309.22	1:112	374.9	1:115
310.3	1:113	374.12	1:124
313.13	1:111	374.18	1:115
315.7	1:106	375.6	1:111
316.6	1:116	376.5	1:115
319.11	1:111	378.15	1:123
320.24	1:116	379.3	1:114
321.5	1:116	380.4	1:111
321.20	1:106	382.8	1:114
322.14	1:110, 124	382.21	1:124
322.18	1:123	383.16	1:111
327.1	3:159	385.17	1:111
328.10	1:103	385.4	4:17
331.14	1:123	387.11	1:115
332.13	1:111	388.3	1:106
332.18	1:111	390.11	1:114
335.15	1:113	390.12	1:111
336.1	1:116	395.11	4:89
337.3	1:110	398.12	1:113
337.5	1:111	400.6	1:112

401.6	1:113	479.3	1:116
402.12	1:123	479.19	1:115
404.5	3:155	481.9	1:123
406.9	1:106	483.6	1:116
409.4	1:113	483.16	1:124
417.17	1:102	487.7	1:112
419.11	1:113	490.5	1:114
420.3	1:114	490.7	2:70
421.1	1:109	490.15	1:112
427.10	1:111	490.20	1:112
428.11-13	4:136	491.15	1:114
429.9	1:114	493.17	4:85
433.2	1:114	494.23	1:116
435.14	1:111	498.6	1:122
438.13	4:103	500.19	1:120
439.19	1:114	501.3	1:113
442.7	1:114	507.5	1:123
443.10	1:114	508.11	1:124
444.18	4:114	510.17	3:162
445.3	1:114	516.23	1:123
446.1	1:111	519.13	2:70
446.19	1:111	523.14	1:122, 124
447.14	1:114	524.11	4:85, 89, 91
448.12	1:113	525.14	1:124
450.3-4	4:133	530.9	1:106, 122
453.9	1:114	531.15	1:120
454.18	1:112	533.1	1:123
455.12	1:113	533.18	1:103
457.1	4:85	534.16	3:156
457.8	1:106	535.6	1:102
459.11	1:102	537.1	1:124
459.13	1:111	541.1	1:106
460.2	1:112	544.13	1:103
463.5	1:112	544.21	2:37
464.1	1:114	545.5	1:114
465.14	1:113	547.7	1:106
466.12	1:111	548.20	1:122
466.25	3:161	551.1	1:123
467.9	1:114	553.9	1:123
469.10	1:114, 4:85	556.7	3:167
470.13	1:114	561.11	1:113
470.17	1:114	564.1	1:114
470.19	1:114; 3:156	564.11	1:114
470.20	1:114	564.16	1:114
473.10	1:111	565.10	3:163
474.7	1:122	565.22	1:106
475.19	4:85	570.6	1:111
476.5	1:124	574.4	4:124
476.12	1:114	574.6	1:114
477.19	1:108, 110	574.8	1:112
478.3	1:116	574.17	4:125-6
478.23	1:114	576.7	1:116
478.8	3:66	579.1-2	1:103

580.7	2:70	674.10	1:110
581.9	1:112	674.14	1:114
584.3	1:112	675.20	1:111
584.18	3:164	678.1	1:121
588.18	1:103	679.5	1:103
590.13	1:114	680.16	1:103
591.17	1:123	681.1	4:17
592.3	1:114	685.2	1:123
592.17-8	4:17	687.5	1:116
600.6	1:114	687.7	3:158
601.8	1:114	688.11	4:85
601.10-1	4:85	688.20	1:116
601.15	1:124	689.6	1:116
602.8	1:114	689.13	1:124
603.19	1:116	690.5	1:112
604.12	1:115	690.7	1:103
604.14	1:124	690.18	1:111
604.22	1:113	691.16	1:111
612.13	1:113	692.2	1:123
615.14	1:124	693.3	1:106, 121
617.12	1:110, 111	693.7-9	1:110, 111; 4:17
619.15	1:111	693.20-1	4:17
622.21	1:103	694.19	3:158
623.13	1:116	695.23	1:116, 121
625.17	1:110	699.1	1:114
628.6	1:113	706.19	1:103
631.14	1:116	709.16	1:106; 3:149, 162; 4:20
637.1	1:106	709.18	3:162
637.13	1:114	712.15	1:115
638.4	4:145		
640.7	1:114	Stephanus Comicus (Kock)	
642.8	3:162	Fr. 360	2:64
646.14	2:70		
646.20	1:106, 121	Stobaeus	
649.13	1:113		
651.15	1:121, 124	<i>Anthologium</i>	
653.6	1:106	4.2.20 (p. 129)	2:63
654.8	1:111		
657.9-10	4:85	Strabo	
657.16	1:112	2.3.4	3:166
657.20	1:115	3.1.9	1:114
659.8	1:113	3.3.1	1:114
660.1-3	1:116	3.5.5	3:166
661.11	1:110	4.1.5.	1:23
661.19	3:138, 163	4.1.6	1:114
661.21-2	3:163	4.1.12	1:114
662.17	1:110	5.1.8	1:114
663.16	1:106	5.2.5	3:167
664.7	1:110	5.3.7f	3:167
665.10	1:114	5.3.10	1:114
666.12	1:114	5.4.1	3:158
669.13	1:113	5.4.7	3:161
672.13-14	4:134	5.4.9	3:163

6.1.3	1:114	9.2.10	2:48
6.3.2	2:109	9.2.11	2:45, 48, 69, 70; 4:31
6.3.5	3:159	9.2.12	2:48, 70
6.3.6	2:109	9.2.13	2:48
6.3.9	1:114	9.2.14	2:48, 69, 70; 4:31
7.3.16	1:114; 3:162; 4:23	9.2.15	2:45, 48, 70
7.3.18	4:113	9.2.20	2:49
7.4.3	1:113	9.2.22	2:49
7.4.4	1:114; 4:44, 49, 50	9.2.23	2:49, 70
7.4.5	1:114; 4:60, 68, 113, 114	9.2.24	2:49
7.4.6	4:66	9.2.25	2:49, 69
7.5.3	1:114	9.2.26	1:114; 2:49, 70
7.5.5	3:162	9.2.27	2:49, 69
7.5.8	1:114	9.2.28	2:49, 70
7.5.12	1:113	9.2.34	2:49
7.6.1	1:113	9.2.36	2:49, 69
7.6.2	1:114	9.2.39	2:49
7.7.5	4:20	9.4.2	1:114
7.7.8	1:114, 115	9.4.7	1:114
7.7.9	1:114	9.4.8	1:113
7.14	1:114	9.5.14	1:114
7 fr. 11	1:110; 2:109	9.5.15	3:155
7 fr. 11a	2:109	9.5.16	1:114
7 fr. 21	2:124	10.1.10	1:114
7 fr. 21e	4:118	10.2.21	1:114
7 fr. 23	2:106	11.2.3	4:69
7 fr. 24	2:124	11.2.4	4:66, 68
7 fr. 33	2:105	11.2.5	4:64
7 fr. 51	1:114; 4:21	11.2.8	4:64
7 fr. 53	4:21	11.2.8-10	4:68
8.3.2	2:58, 62, 71; 3:66	11.2.10	4:51
8.3.3	4:146	11.2.12	4:66
8.3.10	1:114; 2:87	11.2.14	4:68
8.3.12	4:163	11.2.16	3:158
8.3.13	4:147	11.2.6	4:60, 68
8.3.16	4:136	11.7.1	1:114
8.3.17	4:135	11.8.9	1:114
8.3.24	1:87	11.10.1	1:114, 115
8.3.25	1:114	11.10.2	1:114
8.3.30	3:76; 4:133	11.11.2	1:114
8.4.1	1:114	11.12.2	1:114
8.4.11	2:25, 74; 3:115; 4:34	11.14.3	1:114
8.5.4	3:86	12.1.7	1:113
8.6.11	3:156	12.2.7	1:114
8.6.14	1:114; 3:156	12.3.10	3:149, 159, 160, 163, 164; 4:88
8.7.2	1:69	12.3.14	1:114
8.8.1	3:110	12.3.17	4:23
9.1.10	1:114	12.3.22	4:17
9.2.5	2:48	12.7.2	1:114
9.2.6	2:48	12.8.2	1:114
9.2.7	2:48	12.8.10	1:114; 2:79
9.2.8	2:48, 70	12.8.12	1:113, 114, 115
9.2.9	2:48		

- | | | | |
|------------|------------------------|--|-------------------|
| 12.8.13 | 1:114 | 17.3.12 | 3:166 |
| 12.8.14 | 1:114 | 17.3.16 | 1:114; 3:166 |
| 12.8.18 | 1:114 | 17.3.17 | 3:164 |
| 13.1.5 | 1:114 | 17.3.18 | 1:106, 114; 3:166 |
| 13.1.11-12 | 3:163 | 17.3.20 | 1:114 |
| 13.1.31 | 1:114 | 19.1.19 | 1:114 |
| 13.1.56 | 1:114 | | |
| 13.1.63 | 1:114, 115 | Suda | |
| 13.1.68 | 1:114 | s.v. <i>barathron</i> | 2:173 |
| 13.2.2 | 3:193 | s.v. <i>Ilarios</i> (2.629) | 1:38 |
| 13.3.6 | 1:114 | s.v. <i>Latoreia</i> (1289) | 2:68 |
| 13.4.6 | 3:163 | s.v. <i>metragyrtes</i> | 2:173 |
| 13.4.14 | 1:114, 115 | | |
| 14.1.19 | 1:113 | Suetonius | |
| 14.1.37 | 2:75 | <i>Calig.</i> 21 | 1:26 |
| 14.1.38 | 1:114, 115 | | |
| 14.1.43 | 1:38 | Theophrastus | |
| 14.2.9 | 2:58 | | |
| 14.2.11 | 2:58 | <i>Characteres</i> | |
| 14.2.25 | 2:79 | 2.12 | 1:81 |
| 14.2.28 | 3:174 | 6.10 | 4:96 |
| 14.3.3 | 3:162 | 22.7 | 4:96 |
| 14.3.4 | 1:113 | | |
| 14.3.8 | 1:114 | <i>Historia Plantarum</i> | |
| 14.3.9 | 3:138 | 7.13.8 | 4:22 |
| 14.4.2 | 3:160, 163 | 8.7.4 | 2:117 |
| 14.5.2 | 3:160 | | |
| 14.5.3 | 1:114; 3:158, 160, 161 | <i>Nomoi</i> (Fortenbaugh et al.) | |
| 14.5.4 | 1:114 | Fr. 650 | 2:63 |
| 15.1.17 | 1:114 | | |
| 16.1.3 | 1:114 | Theopompus Chius (FGH Hist 115) | |
| 16.1.17 | 1:114 | Fr. 24-249 | 2:178 |
| 16.1.27 | 1:114 | Fr. 60 | 3:43 |
| 16.2.10 | 3:151 | Fr. 61 | 3:95 |
| 16.2.12 | 1:114; 3:166 | Fr. 62 | 4:85, 86 |
| 16.2.14 | 3:166 | Fr. 84 | 4:90 |
| 16.2.15 | 3:167 | Fr. 140 | 2:130, 131 |
| 16.2.24 | 3:167 | Fr. 144 | 2:117 |
| 16.2.25 | 3:166 | Fr. 149 | 4:37 |
| 16.2.31 | 1:114 | Fr. 173 | 2:65 |
| 16.4.2 | 1:114 | Fr. 175 | 2:66; 3:66 |
| 16.4.14 | 1:114 | Fr. 243 | 2:83 |
| 17.1.10 | 1:77 | Fr. 263a | 4:11 |
| 17.1.14 | 3:158, 166 | Fr. 344 | 3:85 |
| 17.1.17 | 1:114 | Fr. 370 | 4:23 |
| 17.1.18 | 1:114; 3:25 | Fr. 375 | 4:126 |
| 17.1.20 | 1:114 | Fr. 407 | 2:131 |
| 17.1.23 | 1:114 | | |
| 17.1.35 | 1:114 | Theopompus Comicus (Kock) | |
| 17.1.41 | 1:124 | Fr. 27 | 2:175 |
| 17.1.47 | 1:114 | | |
| 17.3.6 | 1:114 | | |
| 17.3.9 | 1:114 | | |

Thucydides

1.4	2:109	1.139.1-3	3:64
1.2.2	2:54	1.139.3	2:30, 34; 4:34
1.2.3	3:49	1.140.3-4	2:34; 3:34; 4:34
1.2.6	2:54	1.144.2	2:30, 34, 35; 3:64, 117; 4:34
1.3.2	2:54	2.7.1	4:140
1.3.4	2:54	2.9.1	3:156; 4:10
1.5.1	2:52, 54, 61	2.9.2	2:87
1.7.1	2:54	2.9.4	3:156, 157
1.8.3	2:38	2.15	4:26
1.9.4	3:49	2.15.2	1:86; 2:54
1.10.1	2:57, 129, 130	2.25.3	3:76
1.10.2	1:85; 2:53, 55, 64	2.29.2	2:27; 3:101
1.13.5	4:86, 87	2.30.1	1:112, 121, 129, 131
1.13.6	3:161	2.34.6	1:47
1.15.2	2:38	2.38.1	1:81
1.24	3:159	2.47.4	2:175
1.24.6	2:35	2.56.6	2:130, 131; 3:156
1.25	3:160	2.63.3	2:38
1.29.1	3:160	2.66.1	4:140
1.30.2	3:155	2.68.4	3:153
1.46.1	3:153	2.71.2	2:26, 27
1.46.1-2	3:169	2.71.4	2:27
1.56.1	4:93	2.72.1	2:27
1.57.5	2:105, 106, 119	2.79	2:114, 119, 120
1.58.2	2:58, 106, 113; 4:122	2.79.1	2:105
1.61.2	1:112; 3:163	2.79.2	1:112, 121
1.64.2	4:123	2.79.3	2:106
1.65.2	2:105, 106, 129, 130	2.79.4	2:106
1.66.1	4:93	2.79.5	2:121
1.67.2	2:29, 34; 3:124; 4:34	2.80.3	4:33
1.67-87	3:78	2.80.8	2:61, 66
1.87.3	1:63	2.84.5	3:155
1.97.1	2:28; 4:34	2.96.2-4	2:27; 3:101
1.98.1	1:112; 4:18	2.97	2:112
1.98.2	3:157	2.98.4	2:27
1.100.2	4:32, 88	2.99.3	1:112; 2:106
1.100.3	1:109	2.99.5	2:106
1.101.2	3:74	2.100.3	1:111
1.104	3:25	2.100.4	2:106
1.105.3	3:142	2.101.1	2:128
1.107.2	2:130, 131	2.101.3	2:27
1.108.1	4:140	2.101.5	2:105
1.108.4	2:29	2.102.1	1:111
1.109.1	4:140	3.10.5	2:34, 35; 4:34
1.113.4	2:27, 35; 3:114, 133	3.11.1	2:35
1.115	3:33, 163	3.11.3	2:35
1.119-25	3:78	3.14.1	3:35
1.122.2	4:13	3.18.1	3:163
1.132.1	3:175	3.34.1-4	4:37, 101
1.132.4	1:95	3.34.2-3	3:49
1.134.1	2:55	3.39.2	3:124
1.139.1	2:30, 34; 3:34; 4:34	3.46.5	2:34; 3:124

3.50.3	2:130, 131; 4:32	4.100.2	4:87
3.55.3	1:95	4.102	2:112
3.72	3:160	4.102.3	4:18
3.72-4	4:96	4.102.4	4:88
3.75.2	3:33	4.103.5	2:129, 130, 131
3.82.7	3:114	4.104.5	4:18
3.83.1	3:33	4.106.3-4	4:18
3.85.3	4:121	4.107.1.2	4:18
3.89.4	1:33	4.107.3	1:112
3.90.3	4:140	4.108.1	2:38; 4:18
3.92.3	3:141	4.108.4	4:32
3.93.4	4:12	4.109.3	1:112; 3:157, 158, 160, 162
3.94.1-2	3:155		
3.94.4	2:55, 61, 63	4.109.5	2:129, 130
3.97.1	2:63	4.116	2:206
3.97.2	2:55	4.120	2:112
3.100.1	3:174, 176	4.123	2:112
3.101.2	1:112; 2:62, 66	4.124.4	2:64
3.103.1	2:130	4.134	3:86, 89, 111
3.105.1	1:77, 112	4.134.1-2	3:79
3.113.2-5	4:33	4.134.2	3:48
3.113.6	4:33	5.4.3	1:95
3.114.3	4:33	5.6.1-2	4:18
4.1.3	3:163	5.10.3	4:18
4.3.2	4:133	5.10.8	4:18
4.42.1-2	2:65, 67	5.10.10	4:18
4.43.1	2:61, 67	5.18.1-9	3:114
4.43.5	2:67	5.18.2	2:26, 27, 30, 39
4.46.4	3:33	5.18.5	1:112; 2:31, 35, 112, 120; 3:78, 162, 193; 4:35
4.49	1:112		3:161
4.50.1	4:18	5.18.6	3:163, 164
4.52.3	1:130, 131; 4:32	5.18.8	3:128
4.53	2:25	5.18.9	3:175
4.53.2	4:34	5.23.1	2:28
4.53.2-54.4	4:101	5.27.2	3:79
4.54.1	3:64, 147, 155; 4:34	5.28.3-29.2	3:89, 90, 101
4.54.2	3:73	5.29	3:49, 90, 111
4.54.4	2:130	5.29.1	3:49; 4:140
4.66.3	3:33	5.31.1	4:136, 141, 143
4.70.1	2:67, 72; 3:142	5.31.2	2:28; 3:43, 76
4.75	2:198	5.31.2-4	4:143
4.76.2-3	3:156; 4:20	5.31.3	4:140
4.79.1	2:130, 131	5.31.3-5	3:90; 4:141, 143
4.85.6	3:157	5.31.5	4:139
4.86.1	2:28	5.31-4	2:65; 3:81, 89, 101, 102; 4:159
4.87.5	2:34	5.33	1:112; 2:38; 3:49, 80, 89, 101; 3:111, 176; 4:121, 159
4.88.1	2:28; 3:157		
4.89.1	1:112	5.33.1-2	3:111; 4:35, 159
4.89.2	3:156; 4:20		4:133
4.91	3:49		3:134
4.93	3:49	5.33.3	
4.97.2	2:63	5.34.1	
4.98.2	2:206	5.38.1	

5.41.2	3:155	6.104.2	1:95; 3:164
5.47	3:68, 80	7.14.2	2:128; 4:23
5.47.1	3:82, 111	7.19.4	3:49
5.47.2	3:82	7.25.9	3:153
5.47.3	3:153	7.29–30	2:45, 62; 4:31
5.47.5	3:82, 111; 4:140	7.29–30.2	3:63
5.47.6	3:54	7.29.3	1:112; 2:70
5.47.8	3:82, 128	7.29.5	1:112; 2:70
5.47.8–11	3:114	7.30.2	2:70
5.47.9	3:43–4, 82	7.30.3	4:31
5.47.10	1:89	7.50.2	4:88
5.47.11	3:82	7.57.3	2:28, 31, 32, 38; 4:34
5.49.1	3:49, 189	7.57.5	2:33
5.50.4	3:188	7.57–8	2:32
5.54.1	2:25, 74; 3:73, 115; 4:34	7.57.9	3:49
5.57.2	3:49	7.58.3	3:49
5.58.1	3:111	7.77.7	1:120
5.58.2	3:49	7.80.2	3:175
5.58.4	3:49	7.153.2	3:175
5.60.5	3:49	8.3.2	3:49
5.61.3	3:49	8.4	4:120
5.61.5	3:49, 81	8.14.1	4:22
5.62.1	3:76	8.21	2:36
5.64	3:49	8.24.2	4:25
5.64.1	3:193	8.28.4	2:130
5.64.3	4:159	8.34.1	4:22
5.67.1	3:49, 81, 111; 4:159	8.37.2	4:12
5.67.2	3:80, 89	8.38.2	1:112; 4:22
5.77.1	3:81	8.40.3	1:112
5.77.5	2:39	8.41.2	3:160
5.79.1	2:28, 39	8.46.4	3:155
5.81.1	3:80, 83, 90, 101	8.64.1	2:38
6.4.1	3:161	8.64.5	3:164
6.4.2	2:109	8.76.5	1:95
6.4.3	3:32, 175; 4:101		
6.4.5	3:160	Valerius Maximus	
6.4.6	3:161	2.2.5	1:50, 51
6.5.1	3:161	3.3 Ext. 4	3:14
6.5.2	4:36, 69	6.5. Ext. 4	1:41
6.6.4	3:175	8.12.15. Ext. 1	1:23
6.13.1	1:63		
6.20.1	4:23	Varro	
6.20.3	4:23		
6.44.3	3:163	<i>Antiquitates</i> (Cardauns)	
6.51	1:49	Fr. 6–11	2:201
6.51.1	4:23		
6.62.3	2:130	<i>De lingua Latina</i>	
6.64.2	4:23	8.21	3:184
6.67.1	4:140		
6.84.2–3	2:38; 4:34	Vitruvius	
6.85.2	2:33	7.5.5	1:50, 75
6.88.4	2:27		
6.94.3	2:130		

Xenophon*Agesilaus*

2.24 2:25, 74; 3:73, 115; 4:34

Anabasis

1.1.2 4:159
 1.2.10 3:60
 1.4.6 1:112; 4:85, 88
 1.4.7 3:60
 2.2.13 2:79
 2.2.20 2:45
 2.4.21 2:79
 2.5.21 2:114
 3.1.2 4:11, 12
 3.1.5 2:203
 3.2.4 3:114
 3.4.10 1:112
 4.1.27 3:85, 189; 4:159
 4.2.16 3:154
 4.2.28 3:189
 4.6.20 3:85
 4.7.9 3:85
 4.7.12 3:85
 4.7.17 2:130
 4.8.22 2:80; 3:164
 5.3.2 3:165
 5.3.9 2:207
 5.5.8 3:163
 6.1.15 3:159
 6.3.9-10 4:148
 6.4.1-8 2:79
 6.4.7 2:130
 6.5.1 4:158
 7.1.33 1:63; 4:11
 7.4.12 3:85
 7.4.16 4:144
 7.8.17 2:90
 7.8.22 2:130
 7.8.25 2:27

Cyropaedia

1.2.3 1:46
 6.2.11 1:112
 6.2.38 4:87
 7.1.45 1:112
 7.5.1-38 2:79
 8.1.11 4:11
 8.6.23 4:11
 8.8.2-3 4:11

De equitandi ratione

12.12 2:117

De vectigalibus

4.50 2:86

Hellenica

1.1.20 2:98
 1.1.22 3:158
 1.1.26 1:95; 4:32
 1.1.28 2:101
 1.1.33 2:95
 1.1.37 1:112; 2:97, 101
 1.2.7 2:96
 1.2.8 2:96
 1.2.10 1:95; 2:101
 1.3.5 2:97
 1.3.6 2:97
 1.3.14 4:120
 1.3.17 2:96
 1.3.18 2:96
 1.3.19 2:96
 1.4.11 2:95
 1.4.12 2:95
 1.4.13 2:95
 1.4.15 2:95
 1.4.17 2:95
 1.4.19 2:95
 1.4.20 2:95
 1.4.22 2:95
 1.5.18 4:121
 1.6.5 2:98
 1.6.13 2:99
 1.6.19 2:99
 1.7.17 2:95
 1.7.21 2:95
 1.7.22 2:95
 1.7.35 2:188
 2.1.2 2:96; 4:22
 2.1.3 2:93, 96; 4:22
 2.1.14 2:98
 2.1.15 2:97
 2.1.19 2:99
 2.1.25 2:99; 4:121
 2.1.26 2:101
 2.2.4 2:95
 2.2.5 2:99
 2.2.6 2:101
 2.2.8 2:95
 2.2.9 2:86, 94, 95
 2.2.10 3:70
 2.2.11 2:95
 2.2.14 2:95
 2.2.16 2:95
 2.2.20 2:95
 2.2.24 2:95

2.2.29	3:153	3.3.4	2:98
2.3.5	2:99	3.3.10-11	2:55, 98
2.3.7	2:101	3.4.2	3:78
2.3.13	2:95	3.4.5	2:28, 34; 3:121
2.3.15	2:95	3.4.17	2:94, 96; 4:96
2.3.24	2:95	3.4.25	2:28, 34
2.3.34	2:95, 98	3.4.26	2:98
2.3.35	2:95	3.5.1	2:95, 97, 101
2.3.40	2:95	3.5.5	2:86
2.3.41	2:95	3.5.6	2:98; 4:34
2.3.42	2:95	3.5.7-16	4:153
2.3.44	2:95	3.5.8	2:101; 3:134
2.3.46	2:95	3.5.15	2:96, 101
2.3.48	2:95, 96	3.5.18	2:28, 35; 3:118, 131, 133; 4:34
2.3.50-6	2:184-5	3.5.25	3:53, 74
2.3.51	2:147	4.1.15	2:79
2.3.55	2:147	4.2.1	2:98
2.4.13	2:96	4.2.2	2:98
2.4.23	2:96	4.2.3	2:98
3.1.2	2:96	4.2.9	2:98
3.1.3	2:38	4.2.16	2:93; 3:64, 75; 4:145, 150
3.1.6	2:97, 99, 100, 101; 4:23	4.3.15	2:35
3.1.13	2:90, 91, 97, 99	4.3.21-2	2:64
3.1.15	1:112; 2:89, 97, 101	4.3.36	2:94
3.1.15-28	2:89	4.4.2	2:97
3.1.16	2:97, 99	4.4.6	1:95, 97; 3:193
3.1.17	2:97	4.4.9	2:97
3.1.18	2:91	4.4.11	2:97
3.1.20	2:28, 34, 92	4.4.15	2:100
3.1.21	2:92, 101	4.4.16	4:121
3.1.22	2:89, 97	4.4.19	4:120
3.1.23	2:89	4.5.1	2:97
3.2.1	2:97, 99	4.5.3	2:97
3.2.8	2:98	4.5.10	2:97
3.2.10	4:21	4.5.11	2:97
3.2.11	2:95	4.5.14	2:97
3.2.12	2:28, 34; 64	4.5.18	2:100
3.2.17	2:88	4.7.2	2:86, 95
3.2.20	2:28, 34, 35; 4:148	4.7.3	2:95
3.2.21-3	4:137	4.8.1	2:28, 35
3.2.21-31	3:77	4.8.4	2:98
3.2.23	2:28, 35, 37, 60, 88; 3:74, 75, 76, 136; 4:137, 140, 143, 144	4.8.5	2:94, 101; 3:157; 4:21
3.2.25	3:76-7; 4:137, 139, 140, 141, 143, 144	4.8.8	2:98
3.2.27	2:59, 96	4.8.12	2:98
3.2.29	4:137, 138	4.8.12-5	3:129, 130
3.2.30	2:37, 60, 87, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 101; 3:43, 64, 65, 75, 76; 4:143, 144, 150	4.8.14	2:28, 98
3.2.30-1	2:88; 4:138	4.8.15	2:25, 28, 35; 3:118, 119, 130, 133; 4:34
3.2.31	4:143	4.8.17	2:88, 95, 99, 101
		4.8.18	2:99
		4.8.26	2:96

4.8.28	2:96, 99	5.3.18	2:100, 102
4.8.30	2:95; 3:158	5.3.23	2:100
4.8.31	2:94, 96, 97	5.3.24	2:100
5.1.5	2:95	5.3.25	2:98, 100
5.1.16	2:98	5.4.1	2:28, 39, 101
5.1.29	2:35	5.4.3	2:101; 3:118
5.1.31	2:27, 28, 34, 39, 97, 99, 101; 3:119, 121, 147, 157, 159; 4:34, 36	5.4.13	2:98
5.1.31-6	3:129	5.4.16-17	4:121
5.1.32	3:128	5.4.18	2:75
5.1.32-3	2:25, 35, 39; 3:115, 118	5.4.21	2:96
5.1.32-6	2:28; 3:133; 4:34	5.4.23	2:98
5.1.34	2:98	5.4.27	2:98
5.1.36	2:25, 35, 39, 94; 3:118, 130, 133; 4:34	5.4.30	2:98
5.2.1-8	3:91	5.4.36-7	3:87, 92
5.2.2	3:91	5.4.37	2:97, 100; 3:79
5.2.3	2:98, 99	5.4.46	2:101, 102
5.2.4	2:98, 99	5.4.49	2:101
5.2.5-7	3:122	5.4.51	2:101
5.2.6	2:86, 99	5.4.52	2:101
5.2.7	3:66, 90	5.4.57	2:100
5.2.8	2:100	5.4.60	2:96
5.2.9	2:98, 100	5.4.60	3:78
5.2.11	2:95, 112; 3:64, 158; 4:118, 119	5.8.2	2:30
5.2.11-22	3:78, 93	6.1.2	2:100; 3:150, 179
5.2.12	1:95; 2:86, 100, 105, 112; 3:70	6.1.5	2:100
5.2.13	2:100; 3:151, 167	6.1.15	3:149
5.2.13-14	3:70	6.1.17	2:100
5.2.15	2:38, 96, 101, 112; 3:70	6.1.18	2:98, 100
5.2.16	4:87	6.2.2	2:96
5.2.18	1:95	6.2.3	2:102
5.2.19	1:95	6.2.7	2:97
5.2.25	2:101	6.2.9	2:96, 97
5.2.27	2:101	6.2.11	2:97
5.2.31	2:31, 101	6.2.16	2:97
5.2.32	2:98	6.2.17	2:97
5.2.36	2:101	6.2.24	2:97
5.2.37	2:101; 4:120	6.2.33	2:94, 97
5.2.39	2:100	6.3.1	2:96, 102; 3:133
5.2.40	2:100	6.3.4	2:96
5.2.42	2:100	6.3.7	2:27, 28, 35; 3:117, 120, 123
5.3.1	2:100	6.3.7-12	2:39; 3:78
5.3.1-2	4:118-9, 121	6.3.9	2:26, 28; 3:122, 133; 4:34
5.3.3	2:100	6.3.11	2:27, 28
5.3.6	4:118	6.3.12	2:28, 40
5.3.9	2:98	6.3.18	2:25, 28, 35, 39; 3:116, 120
5.3.10	2:100	6.3.19	3:116, 131, 135
5.3.12	2:100	6.4.1-3	2:39
5.3.16	2:100	6.4.2	2:28, 35
		6.4.3	2:28, 35; 3:132, 133, 133; 4:34, 121

6.4.5	2:98	7.2.8	2:100
6.4.6	2:102	7.2.12	2:100
6.4.7	2:102	7.2.20	2:101
6.4.18	2:77, 94, 98, 100, 101	7.3.1	3:94, 96
6.4.26	2:75	7.3.2	2:101
6.4.27	3:137	7.3.2-4	3:156
6.5.2	2:60, 99, 101, 102; 3:64, 74, 128; 4:138, 139, 145, 148, 150, 151, 152	7.3.3	2:101
6.5.3	2:96; 3:120	7.3.4	2:101
6.5.3-5	2:28, 35, 39, 76	7.3.6	2:102
6.5.4	2:86, 99	7.3.9	2:101
6.5.5	2:99; 3:116, 120	7.3.10	2:102
6.5.6	3:68	7.3.12	2:101
6.5.7	2:101	7.4.1	2:115
6.5.10	2:99; 3:94	7.4.2	3:95, 97
6.5.10-21	2:83; 4:154	7.4.4	2:98
6.5.11	2:99; 3:89, 94, 96; 4:154, 163	7.4.5	2:98
6.5.12	1:112; 2:86, 97; 3:95; 4:35	7.4.6	2:98; 3:97
6.5.13	3:94	7.4.11	2:95
6.5.16	2:99	7.4.12	3:43, 75, 94
6.5.18	2:99	7.4.14	2:60, 87, 96, 102
6.5.20	2:99	7.4.15	2:96
6.5.21	2:25, 74, 99; 3:73, 115; 4:34	7.4.16	2:96
6.5.22	3:89, 94	7.4.17	1:112; 2:96
6.5.25-6	2:66, 74; 4:31	7.4.18	2:100
6.5.27	2:99	7.4.19	2:96
6.5.28	2:99	7.4.21	2:99
6.5.29	2:96, 98, 100	7.4.22	1:112
6.5.32	2:99	7.4.26	2:96
6.5.44	2:96, 100	7.4.31	1:33, 41, 88
6.5.45	2:96	7.4.33	2:99; 3:95
6.5.47	2:99	7.4.33-4	3:96
7.1.3	2:96	7.4.34	3:95, 96
7.1.7	2:96	7.4.35-6	3:98
7.1.10	2:99	7.4.36	3:95
7.1.19	2:98	7.4.37	2:99
7.1.20	2:98	7.4.38	2:99
7.1.26	2:60; 3:95; 4:138, 145, 148, 150, 152	7.5.1	3:72
7.1.28	4:159	7.5.5	2:85, 95, 99, 100, 101; 3:72; 4:163
7.1.36	2:28, 40	7.5.8	2:101
7.1.40	2:98	7.5.10	2:99
7.1.42	2:37	7.5.11	2:99
7.1.43	2:94	7.5.12	2:99
7.1.44	2:101	7.8.17	2:93
7.2.1	2:100		
7.2.2	3:154		
7.2.5	2:100		
7.2.7	2:100		
		<i>Memorabilia</i>	
		1.3.1	2:204
		1.4.16	4:11
		4.3.16	2:204
		<i>Respublica Lacedaemoniorum</i>	
		15.3	2:25, 74; 3:73, 115; 4:34

Symposium

2.16 3:178
4.47 4:11

Zenobius

2.94 2:207

II. INSCRIPTIONS AND PAPYRI

Agora I

2669 2:158

Agora III

431-2 2:171
487 2:173
517 2:158

Agora XV

49 3:173

Agora XVII

504 3:195
519 3:195-6

Bailie (see 3:163 l. 4-5)

269 3:163

BCH

10 500 1.1 3:164
37 (1913) 147-53
No. 5 (=IGRR I 828) 2:73
99 (1975) 51 4 3:189

Bernand (see 3:17 n. 1)

505 3:21
535 3:21
536-40 3:23
552 3:21
594-604 3:23
605 3:21
622 3:21
623 3:21
644-47 3:23
648 3:23

CEG II

824 3:47
824.7 4:146
824.13 4:146
824.18 4:146

Chiron 16 (1986)

72-3 ll. 26-7 3:173

CID II

1.II.31 3:189
4 4:93
4.3 3:155
4.8 3:155
4.I.3-4 3:155
4.I.14-5 4:10
4.I.37 3:185
4.III.21 3:185
4.III.24 3:185
4.III.27-8 3:169
8.II.13 3:155
24.II.23 3:189
31.1 3:154
32.1 3:179
32.44 3:174
32.45 4:10
71.28 3:154
74.I.37-8 3:142
100.I.4-5 3:174
122.II.7 3:175
300-305 3:193

CIG

3064 3:172
2349b.13-15 1:31
3641b.21 1:32
4239.1-2 1:34
4702 3:160

CIRB

6 4:46, 80
8 4:46
8-11 4:80
10 4:46
25 4:46
37 4:46, 80
64 4:46
113 4:80
173 4:89
188 4:57
194 4:89
195 4:89
231 4:50, 90
495 4:55
972 4:80
1013-15 4:80
1034 4:57
1037-40 4:80
1038 4:57

1044 4:57
 1048 4:46
 1052 4:57
 1054 4:57
 1056 4:55
 1111 4:80

Corinth 8.3
 309 fr. e 3:40

Dessau, see ILS

DGE
 147.3-7 4:35

Dubois (see 3:68 n. 42)
 O.1 3:84
 O.1.4-7 3:84
 O.1.29-30 3:68
 O.3.9 3:68
 O.4.8-9 3:68
 O.6.11 3:68
 O.10.8 3:68
 O.11.1-2 3:68
 Phi. 5.2 4:132

F.Delphes III 1
 3-11 3:110
 68 2:68
 83.15 3:108
 288 2:92
 294 1:45, 53
 295 1:45
 398 1:95
 424.1-2 3:171

F.Delphes III 2
 69.43 4:11
 226.2-3 3:184
 205.7-8 3:183

F.Delphes III 3
 77-116 3:180
 79 3:175, 188
 116 3:175

F.Delphes III 4
 173 4:132
 222 3:188
 371.33-4 3:192
 377.1 3:154
 414 1:45; 3:192

F.Delphes III 5
 62.13-21 1:31

GRBS 22 (1981)
 49 ll. 39-43 3:182

Hesperia 57 (1988)
 1481.A.28 3:143

I.Cret.
 I.vi 2.36-7 1:31
 I.viii 6.31-2 4:84, 86
 I.xvi 1.40-1 1:32, 33
 I xvi 5.30-2 1:33
 I xxiii 1.65-6 1:33
 II x.1 3:155
 II xi.1 3:156
 II xiii.1 3:154
 II xix.2 3:156
 IV 72 vii.10-11 4:96
 IV 72 x.34-5 1:46, 52
 IV 72 xi.12-4 1:46, 52
 IV 80 2:35, 37; 3:136
 IV 80.1 2:27
 IV 184a 2:42; 4:32
 IV 184a4-8 2:35; 3:136

I.Délos
 6.84 1:39
 400.32-40 1:61
 402.2-4 1:61
 1497bis 5 1:48
 1498 1:61
 1501 1:61
 1502 1:61
 1503 1:61
 1504.52 1:48
 1506 1:61
 1507.39 1:48
 1957.b.2, cr.16.1 3:59

I.Ephesos
 27.557-8 1:50
 28.19-20 1:50
 29 1:50
 30 1:50
 31 1:50
 34 1:50
 35 1:50
 471.22 1:32
 740B 1:39
 906.13-4 3:172
 3140 3:177

IG I³

1.1	3:156	80	3:47
27.5-11	2:186	104.4-8	2:188
34.7	4:10	104.27-8	4:87
34.12	4:10	110	3:156
34.14	4:10	127.15-6	2:23, 26; 3:123
34.20-1	4:10	127.28-30	2:187
34.23	4:10	131.11-5	3:179
34.32	4:10	155.5-9	2:186
34.45	4:10	165.6-11	2:186
34.61	4:10	174	3:47
34.64	4:10	234.5	2:172
40.5	3:154; 4:21	237-41	2:204
40.70-6	1:76	259	2:91
47A.7	4:84	259.II.28	4:21, 22
52A.11-12	2:186	259.VI.19-20	4:10
56.3-7	2:186	260	2:91
59A.6	3:177	260.I.16	2:111
61.44-5	3:161	260.VI.9	4:24
66.11-12	2:26, 35	260.VI.15	3:157
68.55-8	2:186	260.VI.16	3:161
71	2:91; 4:80	260.VI.19	3:161
71.22-25	2:186	260.VII.8	3:160
71.I.88	3:153	260.VII.16	2:90
71.I.113-4	4:10	260.X.6	4:21, 22
71.I.145	4:24	261	2:92
71.II.93	4:24	261.I.1	3:194
71.II.113	3:162	261.I.15-6	3:158
71.II.114	3:164	261.II.6	4:122
71.II.139	3:150, 160	261.II.31	4:22
71.II.147	3:159	261.IV.7	3:164
71.II.151	4:24	261.V.27	2:90; 4:124
71.III.79	4:21	262.I.2-11	4:122
71.III.124-40	4:32	262.IV.2	3:154
71.III.129-30	2:90	262.IV.6	3:162
71.III.135	2:91	262.IV.15	3:160
71.III.167	2:120	263	2:91
71.IV.83	2:123; 4:126	263.10	2:114
71.IV.126	2:195	263.19	2:114
71.IV.130	3:152, 159	263.II.15	4:24
71.IV.167	3:162	263.III.15	3:161
71.V.126ff	4:80	263.V.12	4:22
76	2:106, 110, 111, 112, 116, 117, 118, 122	264	2:91
77.IV.14-27	4:32	264.I.15	2:90
77.IV.17	3:163	264.I.77	3:150, 160
77.V.18-19	2:91	264.III.28	2:123
77.V.21	3:166	264.III.30	4:24
77.V.27	4:90	265	2:92
77.V.29	4:90	265.I.17	2:90; 4:23
77.V.33-4	3:157	265.I.61	4:24
77.V.35	2:124	265.I.92	4:22
78.26-30	2:186	266	2:92
		266.II.19	2:109, 119
		266.II.27	4:119

266.III.33	3:164	285.I.107	2:37, 45
268	2:92	285.I.107-11	3:64; 4:33
268.II.19	4:123	285.I.110	2:37
268.II.28	4:123	285.III.8	2:116
268.II.30	3:160	285.III.10	2:124
268.II.63	3:162	285.III.11	2:116
269	2:92, 10	285.IV.107-10	3:147
269.I.25	4:24	290.I.5	3:150, 160
269.II.35	3:158	290.I.7	3:160
270	2:105	290.III.13	4:122
270.I.8	4:37, 101	290.III fr. 5.1	2:124
270.I.26	4:24	369.91	2:172
271	2:105	383.50	2:172
271.I.34-6	4:21	383.143	2:174
271.I.19	4:24	476.6-7	3:178
271.II.33-6	4:21	476.188-91	2:188, 189
272	2:105	1101 A & B	4:84
272.I.24-5	4:37, 101	1102	4:85
272.I.34	3:163	1327	3:170
272.I.77	3:150, 160	1328	3:170
272.II.18	4:24	1331	3:170
272.II.79	4:19	1340	3:195
273	2:105	1345	3:170
273.II.2	4:24	1346	3:170
274	2:105; 4:24	1349	3:195
274.III.7	4:24	1370	3:196
277	2:121	1375	3:170
277.V.9-10	4:22	1341	3:170
277.VI.19-20	4:119	1359	3:196
278.V.18	3:157		
278.VI.17	2:124	IG II²	
278.VI.18-21	4:25	1.48-9	4:37, 101
278.VI.23	3:160	14	2:37
278.VI.29	2:123	28	2:78
278.VI.30	2:123, 126	28.17-20	2:76
278.VI.31	4:25	30b.7	3:156
279.I.48-9	4:24	34	2:28; 3:124
279.II.81-2	3:150, 160	34.13-20	2:39
280.I.39	4:37, 101	35	2:28
281.I.24	4:24	35.10-16	2:39
281.I.61	4:24	40	2:36, 37
282.II.40	2:124	43	2:28
282.IV.38	4:24	43.10-12	2:26, 35
283.III.1	3:150	43.18-23	2:31
283.III.2-3	3:150	43.20	3:116, 117
283.III.5	3:150	43.23	2:26
283.III.23	4:37, 101	43.69-72	2:87
283.III.29	4:24	43.78	4:10
283.III.30	4:24	43.79	2:37
284.II.1	4:24	43A.87	4:24
284.II.2-3	4:24	43A.80	3:154, 161
284.6-7	2:199	43A.81	3:154
285.I.95	4:37, 101	43A.82	3:155, 158

43A.84	3:154, 162	9090	3:189
43A.85	3:156	9281	3:183
43A.86	3:157	9984	3:30, 185; 4:33, 93
43A.87	3:161	10021	3:183
43B.5-6	2:105	10036	3:196
43B.7	3:157	10287	3:174
43B.10	2:111	10461	4:145
43B.18	3:154	10589	3:177
43B.19	3:155	10607	3:177
43B.23-6	3:155	10754	3:177
43B.32-3	3:158	11202	3:175, 196
70.20	3:193	11654	3:175
96	2:87	12434	3:195
109.8-9	3:179		
112.36	4:10	<i>IG IV</i>	
120.15-17	2:187	428.III	
126.13-18	2:28	497.2-3	2:72
130.8	3:176	497.11-12	2:72
140	1:44, 137, 158	498.2	2:72
151	3:11	498.11	3:172
206	3:30, 185; 4:93	517	3:178, 179
223B.4-5	3:177	673.3	3:59
223B.5-6	1:44, 52	748	1:95
230	3:172, 179	757A.33	2:73
350	1:44	757A.35	2:73
389	1:45	841.21-4	1:40
448	1:95		
682.38-9	2:42	<i>IG IV²¹</i>	
993.3	3:59	42	2:85; 3:70
1078.40-3	1:39	42.18-21	3:172, 189
1144.10-1	3:177	49.14-15	3:172
1231.14-5	3:170	51.5-6	2:154
1237B.119	3:177	71	3:178
1283.6-7	2:174	71.32-85	2:72; 3:192
1400	2:172	84.23-4	1:50
1445.24	2:172	94	2:112, 114
1598.6-9	2:66	94.Ib.7	3:163
1635.11	3:154, 157	94.Ib.10	3:157
1635.13-14	3:154	94.Ib.10-16	4:118
1641B.38-40	1:76, 80, 89	94.Ib.29	3:161; 4:24
1646.12	1:76	94.Ib.32	3:158
1670.34-5	1:76	94.II.32	3:158
1813.16	2:171	94.II.43	3:164
4595	2:158	94.21	2:75
4960	2:175	95.9	3:156
5228-7861	3:177	95.14	3:153
6727	3:196	95.19	3:153
6781	3:172	95.24-6	2:61
8387a	3:195, 196	96.48	2:107
8390a	3:195	121.10	3:188
8419	3:170	121.41	3:188
8429	4:90	121.48	3:188
9087	3:175, 189	121-4	3:180

121-7	3:188	<i>IG VII</i>	
238	3:180	1	2:62; 3:143, 178
255-67	3:180	1.5-18	2:67
615	1:95	12.8	3:153
629.4	3:59	16a.3	1:33
		20.24-5	1:34
<i>IG V.1</i>		190	3:142
1.16	3:174	207	3:142
690	3:172	207.4	2:62
1432.5	1:48	207.26	2:75
1517.1	2:68, 74	303.60-5	3:182
		366	1:95
<i>IG V.2</i>		414	3:170, 173
1	2:85, 120; 3:43, 93, 94, 108, 191	430	3:173
1.16	3:101; 4:152, 153, 159	462	3:173
1.16-19	4:35	481	3:183
1.20	4:153, 154	1573	3:183
1.20-2	3:43	2724a	3:180
1.40-5	4:35	2796	3:172
1.58	3:89	2833.4	2:70
1.60	3:101	2834.2	2:70
1.64	3:187	3172b.1	3:183
2	3:95	4131.35-7	1:31
2.6	3:95	4135.24-6	4:11
3.20-1	3:42	4138.26-8	1:33
6	3:43	4139.28-9	1:34
6.6-9	3:42	<i>IG IX 1</i>	
6.8	3:42	694.2-3	3:178
9.93	4:146		
34	3:188	<i>IG IX² 1</i>	
142.7	3:59	1.2-3	3:153
142.18	3:59	1.17	3:180
142.21	3:59	16	3:191
142.25	3:59	16.14-22	3:192
142.33	3:59	25.26-7	3:162
282	3:48	31.192	3:188
343	2:58, 84	42.18-20	2:72
345	3:172	138	2:93
368.54-64	3:192	241	2:42
389	3:69	<i>IG IX 2</i>	
436.7	3:59	115.25	3:170
436.20	3:59	144A.98	1:31
510-11	2:85	144A.101	1:31
549 I.4-5	3:189	512.22	1:45
549-50	2:60; 3:170, 188	1229.6-7	1:45
549-50.II.30	3:60		
549-50.V.9	3:60	<i>IG XI 4</i>	
549-50.V.12	3:60	525	3:95
549-50.VI.17	3:60	609	4:46
P. xxxvi.35	3:193	1125-6	3:188

IG XII 1

128	2:73
762.1	1:49
762.19	3:179
840.9	3:179
978	3:151
995	3:151
1033	3:151

IG XII 2

67 11-15	3:40
202	3:183

IG XII 3

170.23-5	1:31
326.18-20	1:80

IG XII 5

24.1-2	3:156
24.5-6	3:156
35.11-2	1:33
528.2-3	3:155
534.2-5	3:192
540.2-4	3:192
542	3:180
547.9-11	3:179
570.7	3:155
594.2-3	3:154, 155
609.IV.175	4:37
647.9	3:155; 4:37
714.16	3:153
739.94	1:31
755	1:38
798.6	3:157
1002.3	3:154
1060.2	1:32

IG XII 7

68.1-2	3:153
228.III.2-3	1:40
515	3:171
515.46-7	1:31

IG XII 8

50.4-6	1:32
262.1	1:34
356	3:164
661.3	3:156

IG XII 9

6.3	1:40
12	3:154
189.5	3:154

189.33	4:96
240.18	4:37
245-7	3:171
1186.29	4:84, 86

IG XII Suppl.

114.25-6	1:33
139.15-7	1:32

IG XIV

600	3:166
612.5	1:41
952.23	1:38

IGBulg III

1474	2:73
------	------

IGBulg IV

2338.3	2:122
--------	-------

IGR IV

292.42	1:33
--------	------

IGRR I (see BCH 37)**I.Iasos**

2.48-50	2:42
191.12	3:170
252	1:39

I.Kalymn.

88.42-3	3:178
89	3:171

I.Kios

1.5	3:160
-----	-------

I.Lampsakos

9 66	2:73
------	------

ILS (= Dessau)

5471	1:33
------	------

I.Magnesia

15b.23-4	1:33
35.22	1:33
36.4	3:155
38	2:107
38.61	2:85
44.40-42	1:32
45.45-7	1:31
48.31	1:32
50.67-8	1:33

98.62	4:96	<i>ISE</i>	
103.64	1:33	231	2:85
		253	3:181
<i>IOSPE I²</i>			
401	4:68	<i>I.Smyrna</i>	
401.1-7	4:35	697.11	1:41
401.3	4:89		
401.6	4:89	<i>IvO</i>	
401.28	4:89	1-5	1:87
401.30	4:89	1-21	2:59
		2.1	4:139
<i>IOSPE II</i>		2.6	4:139
1-3	4:90	4.6	4:139
201	4:49	7	1:87, 89; 2:59
		9	1:87, 89; 2:59
		10	2:59
<i>IPark</i>		10.1	4:139
2	3:43	11	2:60
9	2:85	11.1	4:139
14	3:84	12	1:87
14.4-7	3:84	16	1:87; 2:59; 3:77; 4:144
15	2:84; 3:71	16.1	4:139
16-7	3:43	16.2-3	3:77; 4:139
		16.7	3:77
<i>I.Priene</i>		16.8	3:77
1	2:64, 80; 3:178	16.9	3:77
1.2-5	2:26	16.14	3:77
1.3	2:26, 41	16.17	3:77
1.6	3:64	16.21-3	3:77
1.14-15	3:64	16.24	3:77
2	1:95; 4:36	39.14	3:154
2.1-9	2:27	39.20	3:154
2.3	2:26, 41	52.46	1:50
3.1-4	2:26, 41	147	3:175, 189
3.14	2:80	147.148	2:85; 4:158
3.16	1:33	151-3	3:188
4.4	2:26, 41	155	3:77; 4:141
6.4	2:26, 41	158	4:158
7.4	2:26, 41	164	4:158
11.4	2:26, 41	266	3:184
14.6	2:80	355	1:87, 88
15.14	2:80	453	1:88
16.10	2:80	458	1:88
37	2:118	459	1:88
38	2:118	463	1:88
45	1:48	477	1:88
50.31	1:48	478	1:88
59.25	1:32	480	1:88
81.6	4:96	930	4:144
111.127	1:48, 78		
111.285-6	1:41	<i>Koerner, Gesetzestexte</i>	
139.1-2	1:69	44	4:144
139.7-8	1:69	44.9-10	4:144
		44.11	4:144

Lazzarini, *Le formule dediche*

374.1	3:175
811	2:60
887	2:60
975	2:60
983	3:193
993	3:192
994	3:192

Lindos

II 117.17	1:33
-----------	------

LSAG

215 no. 20	
220 no. 5	2:59
220 no. 8	2:60
220 no. 9	2:59
220 no. 12	2:59
220 no. 17	2:59

LSAM

24	2:204
48	2:204

LSCG

118	2:204
151	2:208
154A.21	2:208
156	2:208

MAMA

VI 5	1:80
------	------

Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI*

4.2	4:24
15a-b	4:13
20	4:24
20.21	4:24
20.47	4:21
23	2:207
27	3:193
27.9	3:175
27.11	3:158, 169
32.1-4	1:47
89	2:112

Michel, *Recueil*

19.30-1	1:34
23a.16-9	1:31, 32
30.15-6	1:32
177	3:155
340.45	1:31
363.32	1:33

401.24-5	1:32
401B.34	1:32
426.35-6	1:32
448.36-8	1:33
452.10-1	1:32
457.32-3	1:31
462.27-8	1:32
466.9ff	1:48
497.4-13	1:31
505.16-7	1:32
509.15-6	1:33
515.15-6	1:31
524A.25-6	1:32
532.6-7	1:32
544.55-6	1:34
645-68	3:179
664.1-3	2:67
664.20-4	2:67
694.112	1:31
857-78	3:179
901.4	3:172
1313	1:33

Migeotte, *Souscriptions*

54	3:153
----	-------

Milet I 3

33-93	3:180
138.27-9	3:173, 186
140A.33	4:84, 85
140A.35	4:85
146A.33-5	3:173, 186
152C.92-3	3:186

Moretti, see *ISE***OGIS**

46.10	1:39
49.12-3	1:33
120	4:89, 91
213.39	1:33
220	2:89
221.21-23	2:93
223.26-9	2:42
229.9-16	2:42
229.11	4:13

P. Oxy.

222	3:179
222.I.26	3:177
222.I.29	4:158
222.II.26	3:188
2381	3:179, 180, 188

REG 62 (1949)		19 578.1-4	2:42
6.1.1	4:35	19 595	3:183
RPh (1949) 9-13		20 174.7-8	3:162
no. 2	3:186	20 716	2:85; 3:61
SEG		21 354	1:45
2 408	2:107, 110		
2 580.4	1:34	22 339	3:97
9 1.6-15	1:93		
9 1.44-6	1:32	23 179	4:158
9 2	3:193	23 189.I.10	4:33
9 2.27	3:155	23 189.II.7	4:37, 101
9 2.54	3:154	23 189.II.10	4:101
9 354	2:68	23 297	3:193
		23 471.2	3:190
10 128	2:152		
		24 299	3:48
11 314	2:208	24 1023.10-3	1:32, 33
11 414	2:107	24 1031.7	1:40
11 1057	3:188		
11 1084	2:85, 102; 4:36	25 443.3-5	3:172
11 1112	3:46	25 447-8	2:85, 86
11 1154	3:60	25 448	4:131
11 1168	3:102; 4:158		
		26 72	4:85, 86
12 9	2:196	26 72.12	2:137, 172
12 87.20-1	3:170	26 72.19-21	4:85
12 372.11-12	1:34	26 327	3:195
12 373.49-51	1:33	26 330	3:195
12 391	3:162	26 475.3-4	3:193
		26 677.69	1:32
13 397	1:31	26 1306.18	1:41
14 455	3:85	27 261.34-6	1:45
		27 340.21	1:40
15 161	3:196	27 545.1-2	1:50
15 284	3:173	27 571	3:183
15 284-5	3:173	27 929.2	3:161
15 286	3:173		
15 293.10	3:182	28 952.9	1:40
15 384	3:176	28 953.67	1:80
15 384.7-8	3:190	28 1220	1:41
15 717	2:42	28 1224.8	3:164
		28 1224.25-9	2:68
16 213	3:196		
		29 1516	2:68
17 108	3:195		
		30 1110	2:35; 3:136
18 5	2:196	30 1120.16	1:39
18 120	3:195	30 1121.30	1:39
18 254	3:183	30 1122.18	1:32
		30 1123.21	1:39

30 1376	1:41	39 392	3:67
30 1892.13	2:67	39 1210	1:80
		39 1243.V.57	1:32
31 701-2	2:196	39 1289.4	2:68
		39 1328	2:68
32 86.43	3:177		
32 516	3:188	40 371	3:67
32 850	3:183	40 392	4:145, 148
32 914.258-9	1:39	40 528	2:69
		40 542	2:107
33 675.8	1:32	40 542.28	2:124
33 1036.18	1:18	40 542.36-7	2:67
33 1036.28	1:40	40 590	1:40
33 1039.30	1:40	40 991.4	2:67
33 1039.60	1:40	40 1127.2-3	2:68
33 1039.70	1:40		
33 1039.73	1:40	41 332	2:85; 3:99
33 1040.3	1:40		
33 1040.28	1:40	<i>SGDI</i>	
33 1359.3-4	2:68	315	2:90
33 1563	2:68	2130.3	3:184
		3059.31	1:39
34 199	3:170	3364	2:73; 3:178
34 477.7	2:68	4985.14	1:45
34 897	3:171	5016.4-7	1:33, 46
34 897.4	3:172		
34 909	3:171	<i>Staatsverträge II</i>	
34 1245.3-5	2:68	112	3:87
		188	3:114
35 389	4:134, 145, 148	193	3:80, 114
35 966	3:171	255	2:36
35 999.21	1:39	273	2:36, 37; 3:97
35 1119	2:68	277	2:36, 37
		279	3:97
36 147	3:97	283	2:37
36 331A.34	3:156	284	3:97
36 331A.52	3:153	285a	3:97
36 1279	2:68	288	2:37
		290	3:83
37 340	2:56, 85; 3:67, 103, 178; 4:37	297	2:58; 3:71
37 340.3-9	2:73, 74; 3:67; 4:35	300	3:114
37 340.6	3:193	337	3:84
37 757.13-6	1:38	345	2:37
		492	2:42
38 351	3:67	536	2:42
38 619	2:105, 118, 125	<i>Syll.³ (= SIG³)</i>	
38 640.7-8	2:65	9	2:60; 3:89
38 851	1:34	12	3:161
38 1225	2:76	31	3:43
38 1462	2:207	31.7	3:47
38 1890	2:68	31.12	3:47
		31.34	3:76; 4:136, 152

37	3:37	940	2:67
38	3:38	953.10-13	1:78
47.21	1:45	973.37	3:173
48	3:48	976.5-6	1:47
49	3:48	976.3-8	1:50, 53
89 n. 1	2:120	1011.15-7	1:39; 3:158
129	3:150, 160	1012.2	1:45
135	2:110	1024.3	3:156
141	4:35	1045.9	1:45
141.3	3:159	1126	4:49
162.2-3	3:183	1219	2:89
185	3:11		
187.10-11	3:160	Tod, GHI	
214	3:162; 4:90	24	1:45
215	4:79	34.A.4	3:142; 4:20, 24
217	4:79	34.A.8	4:20, 24
218.1	4:101	34.B.4	4:20, 24
218.9-10	1:52, 67; 4:101	34.5	3:154
218.14-15	3:162; 4:89	101	4:153
218.15-16	4:101	110	3:150, 160
224.6-7	4:10	111	2:127
268G	3:158	113	1:69
278.5-7	3:163	113.15	3:159
312.30	3:170	113.18	4:22
330.23-7	2:42	113.28	3:159
322	2:41	113.38	4:22
332	2:105	138	4:36
333.25	3:170	138.1-2	4:36
344.1	1:69	138.2-4	4:36
344.88-90	2:42	138.7	4:36
344.95-101	2:68	138.10	4:36
354.6	4:96	138.17-8	4:36
360	4:35, 68, 89, 120	138.19-20	4:36
360.4	4:120	138.23	4:36
360.5	4:22	138.32-3	4:36
360.22	4:120	138.46	4:36
368 n.1	1:69	141	3:154
380.2-3	3:171	160	3:153
407	2:68	185	2:64; 3:178
525.11	1:45, 78	186.1-4	4:36
557.31	4:11	196	3:193
559.61	3:108		
560.42-4	1:32	Vermaseren (see 2:171 n. 33)	
560.47	1:39	1	2:171
578.32-42	1:41	3	2:176
584	4:46	33-179	2:176
590.11	4:13	64	2:176
591.33-5	2:42	181-239	2:176
614.34	1:39		
615.15-7	1:39	VDI 1995.3	
647.8-9	4:35	14	4:46
694.30	1:41	21	4:46
695.41	1:40	58	4:49

GENERAL INDEX INCLUDING NAMES

The index refers only to the main text, not the notes.

1: refers to *CPCPapers* 1

2: refers to *CPCPapers* 2

3: refers to *CPCPapers* 3

4: refers to *CPCPapers* 4

- Abai, 2:77
 Abdera, 2:105, 114; 3:145
polis status of, 3:157
 Abilyke, 3:143, 165
 Abioi, 1:118
 Aboraka, 4:68
 Abrotonon, 1:106; 3:145, 166
 Abydos, 2:94; 4:122
 Achaia, 1:69; 2:94, 109, 211; 3:139
 Achaian Confederacy, 2:36, 87; 3:40,
 51, 55, 70; 4:10, 14, 163, 172
 active in colonisation, 1:15
 emergence of *poleis* in, 1:16
 in Pseudo-Skylax, 3:141
Achaion limen, 3:144
 Acheloos, 3:58, 145
 Acheron, 3:145
 Acherousia, 3:144
 Achilleion (Ionia), 2:94–5
 polis status of, 2:88
 Achilleion (Kimmerian Bosphoros), 4:68
 Achilleios, 3:142, 144
 Achilles, shield of, 1:45
 Adam, 2:117
 Adane, 3:144
 Adonis, 2:174, 203
 Adramyttion, *prytaneion* at, 1:31
 Adrymetos, 3:144
 Aedonia, 3:144
 Africa, 1:11
 Agaetes of Skythia, 4:44
Agamemnoneion at Mykenai, 2:12, 17
 Agesilaos II of Sparta, 2:25, 35, 79, 83;
 3:115–16, 119–20, 128–29, 134; 4:120
 Agios Athanasios at Asea, 4:173
 Agios Elias at Asea, 4:170, 172, 174–5
 Agios Georgios at Asea, 4:173, 175
 Agios Ioannes at Asea, 4:171, 174
 Agios Nikolaos at Asea, 4:165
 Agis II of Sparta, 2:93
 Agora, 3:145; 4:21, 26
 former name of, 4:22
 polis status of, 3:157
agora,
 as location of political buildings, 1:46
 as meeting place of assemblies, 1:45–8
 economic functions of, 1:46; 4:85, 87
 “free market”, 1:46
 in literary sources, 1:46
 in vase painting, 1:47–8
 meaning of term in Homer, 1:45–6
 meaning of term in inscriptions, 1:45–6
 political functions of, 1:46–8
 “sacred market”, 1:47
 versus *emporion*, 4:96
 Agorakritos, 2:137, 176, 189
 Agrai, 2:172
 Agyrion, *bouleuterion* at, 1:38
 Aias, 3:145
 Aietes of Colchis, 4:44
 Aigai (Achaia), 3:141
 Aigai (Aiolis), 3:145
 bouleuterion at, 1:38; 2:170, 179
 polis status of, 3:157
 Aige, 4:122
 Aigeira, 3:141
 Aigiale, *prytaneion* at, 1:31
 Aigina, 2:95; 3:18, 23–4, 144; 4:86, 97, 100,
 103–5
 autonomia of, 2:29–30
 has an *emporion*, 4:86
 polis status of, 3:153
 prytaneion at, 1:31
 Zeus Hellanios at, 3:23
 Aigion, 2:58; 3:141
 bouleuterion at, 1:38
 Aigipios, 3:145
 Aigition, 2:55
 Aigosthena, 2:74–5, 81; 3:142–43, 148
 as a dependent *polis*, 2:75

- as a *kome*, 2:62, 67, 72
- Aineia, 2:114; 3:145
 - polis* status of, 3:157
- Aineias of Stymphalos, 3:94, 96
- Ainis, 3:40
 - komai* in, 2:63
- Ainos, 2:105; 3:145
 - as a *polisma*, 2:131
 - polis* status of, 3:157
- Aiolians, 3:18; 4:55, 59
- Aiolis, 2:91, 170
 - polismata* of, 2:130
- Airai, *prytaneion* at, 1:31
- Aischines the rhetor, 2:77, 135, 142, 178
- Aischylos, 2:208; 3:9
- Aithalia, 3:144
- Aitolia, 2:170; 3:191–92; 4:14, 131
 - Aitolian Confederacy, 2:36, 42
 - autonomia* of member states, 2:42
 - komai* in, 2:55, 63
- Aix, 3:145
- Akademis, 2:118
- Akakesion, 2:218
- Akamantis, 4:25
- Akanthos, 2:95, 106, 114, 120–21; 3:70, 145; 4:123
 - polis* status of, 3:157
- Akarnania, 4:14
 - Akarnanian Confederacy, 2:36, 199; 3:40
- Ake, 3:145, 166
- Akion, 3:144, 165
 - akra*, as a site-classification in Pseudo-Skylax, 3:143
- Akra (Carthage), 3:144, 165
- Akra (Kimmerian Bosphoros), 4:64, 69, 72
- Akragas, 1:75; 2:95
 - agora* at, 1:57
 - bouleuterion* at, 1:38, 42–3
 - ekklesiasterion* at, 1:55–7
 - Olympieion* at, 1:57
- Akrai, 4:30, 69
 - bouleuterion* at, 1:38
- Akraiphiai, 2:49; 3:174
 - prytaneion* at, 1:31
 - akropolis*, as a site-classification, 2:50
- Akroreia, 2:87, 93
- Akros, 3:144, 165
 - akroterion*, as a site-classification in Pseudo-Skylax, 3:143
- Akrothooi, 3:145
 - polis* status of, 3:157
- Aktaiai *poleis*, 4:29, 32
- Akte, 2:105–6; 4:119
- Alabanda, *bouleuterion* at, 1:38
- Alalkomenai, 2:49, 69–70
 - as a *kome*, 2:69
- Alapta, 3:145, 151
 - polis* status of, 3:157
- Alazia, 4:19
- Alcock, S., 2:211–12, 215–16
- Alea, 2:208; 3:47, 51
- Alekseevskoe, 4:42
- Alexander II of Macedon, 2:116
- Alexander the Great, 1:15; 2:21, 42, 76, 80, 105, 111, 116; 3:30, 138, 184; 4:30
- Alexandria, 1:73; 3:30; 4:103
 - dikasterion* at, 1:77
 - has an *emporion*, 4:86
- Algeria, 1:11
- Alipheira, 3:97; 4:131, 157
- Alkaaios, 2:206
- Alketas the Molossian, 2:199
- Alkibiades, 2:137, 172, 189, 205; 4:121
- Alkinoos, 1:26, 45; 2:207
- Alkmaionidai, 3:171
- Al Mina, 4:83, 99
- Aloros, 3:145, 151, 166
- Alpenoi, 2:81
 - as a *kome*, 2:65
 - in Herodotos, 2:62
- alphabet, 3:11
- Alpheios, 3:145; 4:131, 138–9, 155, 157
 - at Asea, 4:167, 170–1, 175
- Alyattes, 2:76, 206
- Alyzia, 3:144
 - polis* status of, 3:153
- Amasis, 2:79; 3:18, 24, 27, 29, 34–6, 185; 4:92–3
- Amathous, 3:12
- Amazons, 4:114–15
- Ambelakion, 4:175
- Ambrakia, 3:138, 140, 145, 169; 4:10, 29
 - polis* status of, 3:158; 4:33
- Amorgos, 3:146
 - polis* status of, 3:153
- Amphiareion*, 2:204
- Amphidoloi, 2:87, 95; 4:138–9
- Amphipolis, 2:65, 105, 108, 193
- Amphissa, *polis* status of, 3:153
- Amsterdam, 1:12
- Amyntas, 2:122, 127
- Anaitoi, and the synoikism of Elis, 2:59
- Anakreon, 2:209
- Anaktorion, 3:64, 144; 4:10
 - polis* status of, 3:153

- Anapa, 4:66
 Anaphlystos, 1:89; 3:146
 Anaximenes of Lampsakos, 2:38, 178
 Andania, 2:218
 prytaneion at, 1:31
 Andokides, 2:128, 187–8; 3:119, 122, 129–31, 133
 Andros, 1:82; 2:95; 3:145
 bouleuterion at, 1:38
 polis status of, 3:153
 prytaneion at, 1:31
 Anemourion, 3:143
 polis status of, 3:158
 Anidas, 3:146
 Ankon, 3:144
 polis status of, 3:158
 Ano Asea, 4:173
 Antalkidas, 3:130
 Peace of, see King's Peace
 Antandros, 4:32
 Anthedon, 2:48–9; 3:33, 146
 Anthele, 2:62–3, 81; 3:59
 as a *kome*, 2:65
 in Herodotos, 2:62
 Anthemous, 2:106–7
 Anthene, 3:147
 Anti, C., 1:28–9
 Antigone, 2:205
 Antigoneia, 2:113
 Antigonos Monophthalmos, 2:40, 42, 76, 111
 Antikyra, 3:144
 polis status of, 3:153
 Antinoopolis, 3:26
 Antiochia on the Orontes, *bouleuterion* at, 1:38
 Antiochos Epiphanes, 1:38
 Antiochos of Lepreon, 4:153
 Antiochos II, 2:42
 Antiphellos, *bouleuterion* at, 1:38
 Antiphon, 2:192; 3:176
 Antipygos, 3:144
 Apheidas, 4:146
 Aphrodisias, 3:144
 Aphrodisios, 3:144
 Aphrodite, 2:174; 3:21
 Apatouron of, 4:51, 71
 at Nymphaion, 4:50
 Urania, 4:55
 Aphytis, 3:193–4; 4:122–3
 Apis, 3:145, 166
 Apodotai, 2:55
 apoikia, 4:59, 98–9, 111
 is a *polis*, 4:85
 Apollo, 1:87; 2:126; 3:18–19, 26, 33, 185, 193; 4:55
 at Delos, 3:33
 at Delphi, 3:59; 4:93
 at Gryneion, 4:33, 92
 at Pantikapaion, 4:49, 79
 Daphnephoros, 2:207
 Delphinios, 4:57
 Patroos, 2:145, 147, 166, 168, 177
 Prostates, 4:46, 57
 Apollonia (Chalkidike), 2:95, 114–16; 3:145
 location of, 4:117–21
 Apollonia (Illyria), 3:145
 bouleuterion at, 1:38
 polis status of, 3:158
 prytaneion at, 1:31
 Apollonia (Macedon)
 polis status of, 3:158
 Apollonia Pontike, 2:195, 197
 Apollonos Klariou hieron, 3:144
 Apries, 3:35
 Apsaros, 3:145
 Apteraia, 3:146
 Aquarossa, 1:28
 Arabia, 4:87
 Arabis, 3:146
 Arachamites, 4:175
 Arados, 3:144–5, 166
 Archaianaktidai dynasty, 4:79
 Archaic period, changes at the beginning of, 2:7
 architecture, 1:22–90
 altars, 1:29
 andron, 1:26
 characteristics of monumental a., 1:23
 secular a., 1:22
 significance of political a., 1:25
 temples, 1:23, 25, 28
 see also *bouleuterion*, *dikasterion*, dug-outs, *ekklesiasterion*, palaces, private houses, *prytaneion* and *stoai*
 Areos, 3:144
 Arethousa, 3:145; 4:118
 polis status of, 3:158
 Argeia, 2:17
 Argilos, 2:120–1, 129
 as a *polis*, 2:131
 as a *polisma*, 2:130
 Argippaioi, 4:109, 110
 Argolis, 1:15; 2:10–13, 16–18
 cultural unity of, 2:17
 funerary rites in, 2:10
 regional integration of, 2:18

- Argonauts, 4:44
- Argos, 1:31, 38, 42–3, 57, 61, 75, 89; 2:11–12, 14, 17, 38–40, 72, 81, 95, 149, 151, 170, 208–9; 3:44, 52, 58, 79–83, 90, 97–8, 102, 104, 114, 130, 133, 145, 148, 178–9; 4:35, 122, 140, 142
basileis of, 2:14, 17
bouleuterion at, 1:38, 42–3
ekklesiasterion at, 1:57, 61
Heraia at, 4:33, 37
komai at, 2:72
 Larissa heights, 1:57, 61
polis status of, 3:153
prytaneion at, 1:31
 regional hegemonic ambitions, 2:17
 treaty with Sparta 418, 2:39
- Argos Amphiloichikon, 2:61; 3:144; 4:33
 Akarnanian *dikasterion* at, 1:77
polis status of, 3:153
- Argyra, 2:218
- Ariassos, *bouleuterion* at, 1:38
- Arion, 3:146
- Arios, 3:145
- Aris, 3:142
- Aristeides the Just, 1:81; 2:31–2; 3:78
- Aristogeiton, 1:31
- Aristophanes of Boiotia, 1:121
- Aristophanes, 1:76; 2:148, 151, 153; 2:174–5; 3:34; 4:21
- Aristoteles, stele of, 2:198
- Aristotle, 1:16; 2:51–4, 61, 72; 3:7–8, 176; 4:12, 36, 87
Ath. Pol., 1:76
 classification of constitutions, 1:91–2
Constitution of the Ambrakiotans, 4:33
Constitution of the Arkadians, 2:126
Constitution of the Bottiaians, 2:109, 126
Constitution of the Megarians, 2:53, 75
Constitution of the Naxians, 2:69
Constitution of the Tanagraians, 2:53
Constitution of the Thessalians, 4:14
 definition of *polis* in, 1:92; 3:7
kome in, 2:52–4, 57–60
 on *autarkeia*, 2:37
 on *autonomia*, 2:37
Poetics, 2:71
politai in, 1:92–8
politeia in, 1:92–8
politeuma in, 1:93–8
Politics, 1:9, 46, 91–8; 2:37, 57, 60, 63, 80; 3:179
 reconstitutes Stageira, 2:75
- Arkadia, 1:15; 2:53, 83, 107; 3:141, 188–9; 4:30, 35, 87, 121, 129, 131, 132, 135, 144, 146–7, 149, 155–8, 160, 169
 amphiktion of, 3:56–61
 Arkadian Confederacy, 1:16; 2:36, 84–5; 3:39–61, 65, 71, 75, 84–5, 88–9, 93–100, 110, 187, 189; 4:10, 30, 145, 150, 152–7, 159, 163
Arkadikon coinage, 3:39–61
 city-ethnics in, 2:84; 3:186–7
 dependent *poleis* in, 3:63–105
 hegemonic associations in, 3:77–87, 107–8
 includes Triphylia, 4:129–31, 133–6, 145–6, 156
 in Pherekydes, 4:134
 in Pseudo-Skylax, 3:141; 4:156
komai in, 2:73–4
 regional ethnic of, 3:189
 tribal states of, 3:100–3, 107–112; 4:35–6, 158–60
- Arkas, 3:110; 4:129, 132, 145–7, 152, 155, 157
- Arkaseia, 3:150–1
- Arkesilas of Kyrene, palace of, 1:26–7
- Arles, 1:10
- Armenia, 2:79
- Arrian, 1:107; 2:51; 3:149
 in Steph. Byz., 1:116
- Arsinoe, 3:23
- Artabazos, 2:122
- Artanes, 3:146
- Artaxerxes II, 4:36
- Artemidoros, 1:119, 122
- Artemis, 2:91, 169, 203, 207–9; 3:39, 69; 4:55
 Agrotera, 2:208
 Aristoboule, 2:207
 Ephesian, 4:46, 57
 Leukophryene, 2:209
- Arylon, 3:145, 165
- Asai, as a *kome*, 2:65
- Asea, 2:85, 95; 3:72–3, 83, 86; 4:163–76
 Athenaion at, 4:173
 emergence of as *polis*, 4:166–72
polis status of, 2:85
 sanctuaries of, 4:166–72
 settlement pattern of, 4:172–4
 size of population, 4:176
 size of territory, 4:174–5
- Asea Paleokastro, 4:163, 172, 175
- Asia Minor, 2:36, 40, 42, 78, 80, 155, 173, 176; 3:55, 64, 121, 130, 137–8; 4:30–1, 142

- polismata* of, 2:130
 Asine (Argolis), 2:17
 Asine (Messenia), 2:36
 Asklepios, 2:175, 209
 at Erythrai, 2:204
 Askra, 2:49, 51
 as a *kome*, 2:62, 65, 69–70
 Aspendos, 2:95; 3:137, 145
 bouleuterion at, 1:39
 polis status of, 3:158
 Aspledon, 2:50
 assembly, 1:44
 attendance at *a.*, 1:53, 72
 in Athens, 1:53
 in Delphi, 1:53
 in Theangela, 1:72
 in Halikarnassos, 1:47, 72
 in Kolophon, 1:72
 in Magnesia, 1:72
 meetings held in open air, 1:75
 meetings of *a.* in the agora, 1:44–8
 meetings of *a.* in the theatre, 1:48–53
 plurality of meeting places of *a.*, 1:50
 Assera, 4:122
 Assos, 2:149, 170
 bouleuterion at, 1:39; 2:179
 Assur, 1:11
 Assyria, *polismata* in, 2:130
 Astakos, 3:142, 145
 polis status of, 3:153
 Astarita vase, 1:47
asty, 1:120; 2:55
 a peculiar use of the term, 4:12–13
 Astypalaia, *prytaneion* at, 1:31
 Atarneus, 2:95; 3:145
 polis status of, 3:158
 Atharambe, 4:19–20
 Athena, 2:207, 209; 4:173
 Archegetis, 2:208
 at Elis, 2:59
 at Lindos, 3:34
 at Miletos, 2:206, 216
 at Sais, 3:34
 at Tiryns, 2:17
 at Troy, 2:203
 Polias, 2:208–9
 Poliatis at Tegea, 2:208
 Şoteira, 4:165, 170, 174
 Syllania, 2:206
 Athenaios, 2:172
 Athens, 1:15, 17, 39, 42–3, 50–1, 52–3, 61,
 65, 76–7, 78, 85, 89; 2:11, 13–4, 16, 18,
 29–30, 32, 34, 36, 47, 52, 54, 60–1, 71,
 77, 92, 95, 103, 108, 110–11, 118–21,
 124–29, 133–34, 145, 149, 151, 154,
 169, 171, 172–77, 188, 191, 193, 195,
 197, 203, 205, 208–9; 3:15, 30, 44, 57,
 78–80, 82–3, 90–1, 96–8, 100, 104–5,
 114, 117, 121, 123, 128, 130–32, 134,
 141, 173, 177–79, 186; 4:10, 12, 21, 32–
 3, 50, 84, 86–8, 97, 100, 104–5, 140
Adonia, 2:175
 agora at, 1:42
 agoranomion at, 1:80
 altar of Hestia, 2:152
 altar of the Twelve Gods, 2:175
Areopagos, 2:144, 153
 as an *emporion*, 4:97–8
 as a *polisma*, 2:129, 131
 assembly attendance at, 1:53
Basileus, 2:188
bouleuterion at, 1:39, 42–3, 85
 City Dionysia, 1:44
 Classical Metroon, 2:155
dikasteria at, 1:76–7, 85
ekklesiasterion at, 1:44–5
 Eleven, 2:152
Heliata at, 1:76
 Hellenistic Metroon, 2:158–71, 176
 Hephaisteion at, 1:43, 65, 77; 2:147, 153
 Kerameikos, 2:10, 14
Kolonos Agoraios, 2:139, 145, 153, 159,
 179
 Metroon, 2:154–5, 158–9, 166, 168,
 171–8, 189, 208
 Monument of the Eponymous heroes,
 2:149
 naming customs at, 3:176–8
 New Bouleuterion, see s.v.
 New Metroon, 2:155
Odeion at, 1:76
 Old Bouleuterion, see s.v.
 Old Metroon, 2:153–5, 171
 Olympieion, 2:207
Parabyston at, 1:76
 Parthenon, 2:169
 Parthenon at, 1:85
 Pnyx, 1:44, 52, 61, 85
Propylaia at, 1:85
prytaneion at, 1:31, 85
 public archives at, 2:178–89
 Royal Stoa at, 1:43, 78; 2:153, 166–7,
 188
 South Stoa I, 1:80; 2:153
 Stoa of Attalos at, 1:76
 Stoa of Zeus at, 1:43, 80; 2:153, 166

- Stoa Poikile at, 1:76, 80, 89
 stoas at, 1:79
 strategion at, 1:80
 theatron of Dionysos at, 1:51-3
 thesmotheteion at, 1:80
 tholos, 2:147, 153
 Treasurers of the Other Gods, 2:172, 174
 athletic competitions, 1:25
 Athos, 2:194; 3:144; 4:123
 Athribis, 4:20
 atimia, 2:30-1
 Attika, 1:83; 2:11-14, 16, 47, 54-6, 60, 69, 80-1, 115, 177, 208; 3:173, 177-8; 4:26-7, 120, 145, 172
 demes of, 2:48, 50, 72, 94; 3:73, 171
 funerary rites in, 2:10
 in Pseudo-Skylax, 3:141
 political unity of, 2:18
 Attis, 2:175
 Aulis, 2:48; 3:144
 as a *kome*, 2:70
 Austin, J.L., 2:34
 Austin, M.M., 3:30, 32, 184; 4:92-3
 Autokles of Athens, 3:120, 122, 133; 4:34
 autonomia, 1:12-13, 15-16; 2:21-43
 a defining characteristic of the *polis* in modern scholarship, 2:22-3, 37; 3:124
 after the King's Peace, 2:38-43
 ancient concept of *a.*, 2:25-35
 and Common Peace, 2:38-40; 3:113-25, 127-36
 and *phoros*, 2:30-32
 and the ancient concept of the *polis*, 2:36-43
 before the King's Peace, 2:36-8
 defined *e contrario*, 2:34-5
 differences in the concept of, 3:119-20
 ideally a characteristic of the *polis*, 2:23-4
 in the Boiotian Confederacy, 3:93, 113-25, 127-36
 in the Delian League, 2:24, 28-33, 34
 in the fifth century, 2:38
 in the Hellenistic period, 2:40-3
 in the Peloponnesian League, 2:35; 3:87-93, 117, 120
 in the Second Athenian Naval Confederacy, 2:31
 in the sense of independence, 2:25-8
 in Thucydides, 2:28-33
 linked with *polis*, 2:40-1
 meaning of term, 2:23, 26, 32-3, 34-5; 3:123-5, 136
 minimalist definitions of *a.*, 2:24-5, 29
 modern definitions of the *autonomos polis*, 2:22-3
 not linked with *polis* in Aristotle, 2:37
 not linked with *polis* in Plato, 2:37
 proper context of *a.*, 2:25
 versus *eleutheria*, 2:25
 versus federations, 2:35-6; 3:113-25, 127-36
 versus klerouchies, 2:35
 versus perioikic status, 2:35; 3:73-7, 115-6, 122
 versus Persian rule, 2:35
 versus *symmachiiai*, 2:28
 versus tyrannies, 2:26, 34
 Avignon, 1:10
 Avram, A., 4:95
 Axios, 2:109; 3:145
 Ayia Pelagia, 1:38
 bouleuterion at, 1:39, 42-3
 Azan, 3:110; 4:146
 Azania, 3:110
 Azov, Sea of, 4:42, 66, 71, 114
 Babyka, 1:44
 Babylon, 2:79
 as a *polisma*, 2:130-1
 Barygia, *prytaneion* at, 1:31
 Barke, 2:69; 3:144-5
 as a *kome*, 2:65
polis status of, 3:158
 Bartas, 3:144
 Baschmakoff, A., 3:137; 4:95
basileus, *basileis*, 2:10, 14; 3:8-9, 11-2
 Bata, 4:68, 69, 73
 Bathys, 2:48
 Batinetis, 2:118
 Becheirias, 3:145, 165
 Becheirikos, 3:144
 Belbina (island), 3:144
polis status of, 3:153
 Belbina (Lakonia), as a *kome*, 2:65, 74
 Bendis, 2:174-5
 Bengtson, H., 3:114
 Bérard, H., 1:47
 Berbati, 2:11
 Berezan, 4:98, 100, 102, 104, 107, 109
 Berge, 2:108
 Berlin, 2:177
 Bernal, M., 3:15
 Bernand, 3:26
 Berytos, 3:145, 166

- Besbikos, 3:144
 Biannos, *prytaneion* at, 1:31
 Bickerman, E.J., 2:25–6, 38
 Billows, R., 3:11
 Bintliff, J., 2:57
 Birmingham, 3:19
 Bithynia, 2:79, 111
 polismata in, 2:130
 Black Sea, 1:10, 14–5; 2:27, 195; 3:152;
 4:39–81, 107–16
 Bluntschli, J.C., 1:19
 Boardman, J., 3:27
 Boegehold, A., 1:77; 2:155
 Bölte, F., 4:151–2
 Boia, 3:144, 147
 polis status of, 3:153
 Boion, as a *polisma*, 2:130–1
 Boiotia, 1:16; 2:27, 36, 45, 48, 52, 69–70, 96,
 115; 3:55, 63, 66, 141, 173, 174, 188–9;
 4:10, 12, 29
 Boiotian Confederacy, 1:16; 2:28, 36,
 56, 75, 87, 199; 3:39, 93, 97, 98, 100,
 113–25, 127–36, 173; 4:29–30, 34, 153;
 autonomia in, 2:27–8, 35; 3:113–25,
 127–36
 Boiotian settlements in Pausanias, 2:49–
 50
 Boiotian settlements in Strabo, 2:48–9
 Boiotian site-classifications in Pausani-
 as, 2:49–50
 Boiotian site-classifications in Strabo,
 2:48–9
 city-ethnics in, 3:186–7
 dependent *poleis* in, 3:63
 komai in Boiotia, 2:69–70
 Bolax, 4:131–2, 134
 Bolbe, 2:113–15; 3:144; 4:117–18
 Boltryuk, J., 4:112
Borystheneiteon emporion, 4:101–3, 107–
 11, 115–16
 is an *emporion*, 4:88
 polis status of, 4:89, 91
 Borysthenes, 4:114, 115
 Boryza, 4:19
 Bosporan Kingdom, 2:197; 4:39, 44, 69, 71,
 76–80, 90
 Bosporos (Kimmerian), 4:23, 39–81, 113–4
 dependent *poleis* in, 4:60–71
 emergence of *poleis* in, 4:59
 ethnic composition of, 4:72–7
 independent *poleis* in, 4:43–60
 territories of its cities, 4:71–7
 Bosworth, B., 2:29, 34
 Bottiaia,
 Cretan toponyms in, 2:109
 original homeland of the Bottiaians, 2:106
 Bottiaians, 2:103–32
 Bottiaian Confederacy, 2:126–8
 coinage of, 2:126
 Constitution of the Bottiaians, 2:109, 126
 council of, 2:127
 eponymous hero of, 2:109
 ethnic identity of, 2:109–111
 in Konon, 2:109
 modern scholarship on, 2:103
 origin of, 2:108–111
 original homeland of, 2:106
 poleis of, 2:111–26
 Bottike, 2:110, 113–16, 119, 122–25, 127;
 4:127
 called Bottiaia by Philochoros, 2:106
 city-walls in, 2:128
 geographical position of, 2:105–8
 poleis of, 2:111–125
 polismata in, 2:130
 Botton, 2:109
 Boudinoi, 4:115
bouleuterion, 1:16, 24, 37–44, 81
 archaeological remains of 44 *b.*, 1:37
 archaic and classical, 1:42–3
 architectural form of, 2:169–71
 as marker of *polis* status, 1:86
 different types of *b.*, 1:42
 every *polis* has one, 1:37
 evidence of 72 *b.*, 1:37
 in the Athenian agora, 1:42–3
 invariably roofed, 1:42
 list of known examples of *b.*, 1:38–41
 meaning of term, 2:143–4
 monumentality of *b.*, 1:42–4
 most known *b.* Hellenistic, 1:42
 outside Athens, 1:43
 written sources on *b.*, 1:37
 Boupbia, as a *kome*, 2:65
 Bouthrotos, 4:18, 22, 26
 polis status of, 4:20
 Bracheion, 3:144
 Brackertz, U., 2:207–8
 Bradeen, D., 2:122
 Branchidai, 3:34, 36
 Brashinsky, J.B., 4:112
 Brasidas, 2:120, 126
 Braun, T., 3:88
 Breitenbach, L., 3:72
 Bremen, 1:12
 Brennos, 2:217

- Brenthe, 2:218
 Bresson, A., 3:30, 31, 184–5; 4:83, 92
 Bromiskos, 4:123
 Browning, R., 1:100–1, 106
 Brownson, C.L., 3:72
 Brykous, 3:150–1
 Bug, 4:110
 Burckhardt, J., 1:19
 Busolt, 1:46
 Byblos, 1:10
 bystat, origin of the term, 1:20–22
 Byzantion, 2:94, 96; 4:86, 97, 100, 103–5
 bouleuterion at, 1:39
 has an *emporion*, 4:86

 Caere, 1:10
 calendar, 2:203
 Caligula, 1:26
 Callmer, C., 3:41, 88
 Caltabiano, M., 3:42–4
 Camp, J., 2:135, 152
 Cape Takiel, 4:64
 Carlier, P., 3:8
 Carthage, 1:10; 2:27; 3:145, 166; 4:87
 Cartledge, P., 3:73–4, 91, 114, 116, 131
 Cawkwell, G.L., 3:88
 Cellarka, 3:13
 Chairisiai, 2:218
 Chaironeia, 1:17; 2:42, 50, 52; 3:122; 4:19, 26
 as a *polisma*, 2:130–1
 polis status of, 4:20
 Chaladrioi, and the synoikism of Elis, 2:59
 Chalasre, 4:19
 Chaldaians, 3:35
 Chaleion, 4:19, 24, 26
 polis status of, 4:20–1
 Chalka, 3:145, 165
 Chalkedon, 3:145
 bouleuterion at, 1:39
 polis status of, 3:158
 Chalkeia, 3:144
 Chalkidike, 2:103, 107–9, 114, 119–20, 124, 129–30; 4:117–28
 ancient geographical conception of, 2:105–6
 Chalkidian Confederacy, 2:28, 36, 75, 117, 122, 125, 127, 199; 3:64, 69, 93, 100; 4:30
 in Hekataios, 2:117
 in the Peace of Nikias, 2:31
 komai in, 2:75
 polismata of, 2:130
 Chalkis, 2:36; 3:145; 4:12, 19, 23, 26,
 has an *emporion*, 4:86
 polis status of, 3:154; 4:21
 Chalybioi, *polismata* of, 2:130
 Chamaileon of Herakleia Pontike, 2:172
 Chamoux, F., 1:27
 Chandane, 4:18–19
 Chaonia, 4:14
 Charadrous, 3:145, 151, 165
 polis status of, 3:158
 Chares of Lindos, 3:179
 Chelidoniai, 3:143
 Cheng, 1:11
 Cherobios, 3:145
 Cherronesoi *Achilides*, 3:144
 Cherronesos (Libya), *polis* status of, 3:158
 Chersonese (Taurian), 4:22, 68, 95, 103, 116, 120
 has homonymous city, 4:22
 is an *emporion*, 4:88
 polis status of homonymous city, 4:89, 91
 Chersonese (Thracian), 2:117, 196–7; 3:144; 4:19, 26, 121
 change of name, 4:22
 polis status of homonymous city, 4:31–2, 89
 Chichimekans, 1:11
chiliastus, 1:53
 Chios, 1:82; 2:36, 40, 96, 177, 204; 3:18, 144; 4:19, 26
 autonomia of in the Delian League, 2:32–3
 autonomia of in treaties with Athens, 2:31
 Hellenistic *autonomia* of, 2:42
 polis status of, 4:22
 Choirades, 3:145; 4:19, 26
 polis status of, 3:158; 4:22
chora, a peculiar use of the term, 4:12
 Chorasmie, 4:19
chorion, 2:50
 as a site-classification, 2:50
 Chorsos, 3:145
 Chortiatas, 2:124
 Chrysaliskos, 4:71
 Churubash, 4:49
 Cicero, 1:21–2; 2:202
 cité, origin of the term, 1:19–22
 cité-Etat, origin of the term, 1:19–22
 city-ethnics, 3:169–96
 as evidence of political status, 3:182–7
 in Arkadia, 3:186–7

- in Boiotia, 3:186–7
- list of female c. in Athenian epitaphs, 3:196
- list of male c. in Athenian epitaphs, 3:195–6
- use of by women, 3:183
- use of outside Athens, 3:179–81
- versus other types of ethnic, 3:174–6
- city-state, 1:10–12, 19–22, 30
 - accepted beliefs about Greek c., 1:15–7; 2:21–5
 - a misleading translation of *polis*, 1:15
 - as a dependent community, 1:12
 - as an independent community, 1:12, 14; 2:22–3
 - as part of a city-state culture, 1:12–3
 - centre of, 1:12
 - criteria for defining c., 1:11
 - distinction between citizens and inhabitants of c., 1:13, 15; 3:182–7
 - distinction between c. and city-state culture, 1:12–3
 - Etruscan, 1:10; 2:46
 - formation of, 1:12–13; 2:7
 - formation of Greek c., 1:15
 - geographical determinism, 1:13
 - hegemonic c., 1:12, 14, 16–17; 2:28, 36; 3:79–84
 - hinterland of, 1:12
 - in China, 1:11
 - in Latium, 1:10
 - in medieval Italy, 1:10; 2:46
 - in Mexico, 1:11
 - in Phoenicia, 1:10; 2:46
 - in Provence, 1:10
 - in SE Asia, 1:11
 - in Sumeria, 1:10; 2:46
 - in Switzerland, 1:10
 - isolated, 1:12
 - of the Celts, 1:11
 - of the Hanseatic League, 1:10
 - of the Hausa, 1:11
 - of the Mzapa, 1:11
 - of the Vikings, 1:11
 - origin of the term, 1:19–22
 - secular aspects of, 1:14
 - used synonymously with *polis*, 1:19–22, 2:46
- city-state cultures, 1:11–3
- civitas*, 1:22
- Clement, 2:202
- Clement, P.A., 4:122
- coinage,
 - Arkadikon* coinage, 3:39–61
 - festival coinages, 3:56–61
 - of the Bottiaians, 2:126
- Coldstream, N., 1:87; 3:7
- Cole, S., 2:201, 204, 207–9
- colonisation, 1:15; 4:68, 95, 97–100, 107–16
 - influence of c. on the homeland, 1:15
 - secondary to *polis* formation, 1:15–6
- colonies, 1:10–11, 15–16, 28, 31; 4:97–100
 - number of, 1:14
 - stoas in western colonies, 1:79
- commemorative practices of the elite, 2:11
- commensality, 2:16–7
- Common Peace, 2:39–40; 3:113–25, 127–36
 - of 371, 3:114–17, 131–33; 4:148, 150, 151, 152
 - peace negotiations of 392/1, 3:119, 129–31
 - see also King's Peace
- Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 1:101
- Copenhagen Polis Centre, 2:43, 45, 103; 3:63
 - aims of, 1:9; 2:45
 - approach of, 2:47
 - its inventory of *poleis*, 1:9, 14–5
 - its method of identifying *poleis*, 1:9
 - its methodology, 1:99
 - organisation of inventory, 1:14
 - period covered by inventory, 1:14
 - research programme of, 1:9–17; 47
 - ultimate objective of, 1:10
- Cork, 1:11
- Cornelius Alexander, 1:119
- Coulanges, F. de, 1:19
- Crimea, 4:39, 50, 72, 76, 81, 90, 103
- cult,
 - acts of c. performed by non-magistrates, 1:14
 - civic cults, 2:201–10
 - continuity of, 2:203
 - joint ownership of c. centres, 1:13
 - located between cities, 1:13
 - participation in, 1:14
 - significance for the rise of the *polis*, 1:13
- Curtius, E., 4:170–1
- Damaratos, 3:44
 - descendants of, 2:93
- Damastes of Sigeion, 4:11
- Daminon, 3:146
- Dandarioi, 4:80
- Danube, 3:184; 4:78
- Danzig, 1:12

- Daraanon, 3:146
 Dareios the Great, 1:109; 2:69; 3:18; 4:78
 Dark Age, 2:7
 Daskyleion, 2:79
 Datis, 3:35
 Daton, 3:137, 145; 4:95
 polis status of, 3:158
 Deinarchos, 3:120
 Deinomenids, 2:36
 Deioke of the Medes, 2:78
 Delian League, 1:44; 2:24, 28–9, 3–4, 36, 40,
 90–2, 105, 108, 118–20, 191–2, 199–
 200; 3:32, 64, 78, 150; 4:10, 24, 29–30,
 34, 80, 140
 Athenian policy towards, 2:193
 poleis in, 2:191–8
 Delion, 2:48, 52; 3:141, 144
 Delos, 1:75; 2:32, 149, 204; 3:35; 4:84, 95
 bouleuterion at, 1:39, 42–3
 Dodekatheon at, 1:61
 ekklesiasterion at, 1:61–2
 prytaneion at, 1:31, 34–6
 Thesmophorion at, 1:61–2
 Delphi, 1:36, 86; 2:27, 29–30, 32, 40, 176–7,
 203–4; 3:33–5, 47–8, 76, 85, 102, 110–
 11, 144; 4:136, 145, 152, 155
 assembly attendance at, 1:53
 bouleuterion at, 1:39, 41, 43
 Delphic Amphiktyony, 2:77; 3:33, 59;
 4:10
 peculiar status of, 2:47
 polis status of, 3:153
 prytaneion at, 1:31
 Pythian games, 3:188
 theatron at, 1:51, 53
 Delphikos, 3:144
 Delphinion, 2:48
 Dema, 1:83
 Demand, N.H., 2:127
 demes, 2:48, 50, 71–2, 94; 3:71, 73, 178
 Demeter, 2:126, 172, 174, 207; 3:58–9; 4:46,
 55, 109
 at Asea, 4:171
 at Nymphaion, 4:50
 Demeter Gephyraia, 4:26
 D. Olympia em Poli, 2:208
 Demetrias, 1:29
 De Miro, E., 1:55–6
 Demosthenes, 1:81, 85, 107; 2:77, 153; 4:11
 in Steph. Byz., 1:113
 Dendra, 2:11
 Derdas, 4:120
 Deris, 3:144; 4:103
 is an *emporion*, 4:88
 polis status of, 4:89–90
 Derkyllidas, 2:89–92
 Derrones, 2:110
 Despoina, 3:39
 Deukalion, 4:23
 Dia, 4:68
Dialexeis, 4:11
 Didyma, 2:177
 Dikaia by Abdera, 2:114; 4:119
 polis status of, 3:158
 Dikaia of the Eretrians, 4:119
dikasterion,
 evidence strongly Athenocentric, 1:76
 lack of monumentality, 1:76–7, 79
 Diktynnaion, 3:144
 Dinsmoor, 1:43
 Diodorus Siculus, 2:51, 58–60, 77, 79, 90–1,
 93, 211, 214; 3:74–5, 77, 92, 94–8
 on the dioikism of Mantinea, 2:77
 on the synoikism of Elis, 2:58–60
 on the synoikism of Megalopolis, 2:85
 Diodotos of Athens, 2:34; 3:124
 Diogenes Laertios, on Skillous, 4:133
 Diognetos of Krete, 3:189
dioikismos, 2:75–8
 of Mantinea, 2:76–7; 3:91
 of Phokis, 2:77
 of Smyrna, 2:75–6
 Dion Chrysostomos, 2:75, 111
 Dion (Chalkidike), 2:194
 Dion (Macedon), 3:145, 52
 as a *polis*, 2:131
 as a *polisma*, 2:130
 polis status of, 3:158
 Dionysios I of Syracuse, 1:29; 2:27, 36; 4:14
 Dionysios II of Syracuse, 1:29; 2:36
 Dionysios Periegetes, 1:118; 3:61
 Dionysios of Halikarnassos, 1:107, 118
 in Steph. Byz., 1:115
 Dionysios (island), 3:144
 Dionysos, 1:51; 2:203, 206, 209
 Archagetas, 2:209
 at Lesbos, 2:206
 Dioskouris, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:158
 Dioskouroi, 3:19, 48
 Dipaia, 3:44, 46–7, 53, 83, 88
 polis status of, 2:85
 Dipoina, 3:107, 110–11
 Dittenberger, W., 1:123–4; 3:174, 182, 185,
 187; 4:101
 Dnieper, 4:102, 107–8, 110

- Dniester, 4:115
 Dodona, 2:175, 206; 4:14
 prytaneion at, 1:31
 Dolopia, 4:10
 Don, 4:111
 Dora, 1:121–2
 Dorians, 3:18
 Dorion, 2:218
 Doris, *polismata* of, 2:130–1
 Doriskos, 4:36, 120
 Doros, 1:121–2; 3:145, 166
 Dourionpolis, 1:115
 Douriskos, 3:146
 Drabeskos, 1:109
 Drakon, 2:188, 203
 Dreher, M., 2:191, 198–9
 Dreros,
 ekklesiasterion at, 1:62
 prytaneion at, 1:31
 Zeus Agoraios at, 1:62
 Draws, R., 3:8–11
 Drinaupa, 3:144
dryphaktoi, 2:147–51
 Drys, 3:144; 4:103
 is an *emporion*, 4:88
 polis status of, 4:89–90
 Dublin, 1:11
 Dubois, L., 3:71
 Ducrey, P., 4:120
 dugouts, 4:46, 49–50, 54, 59, 62, 66
 Dušanić, S., 3:41, 71
Dymanes, at Megara, 2:72
 Dyme, 2:58; 3:141
 Dystos, 1:83; 4:30
 polis status of, 4:37

 Ebers, G.W., 3:18
 Echedoros, 3:145
 Echinades, 3:144
 Echinios, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:153
 Edgar, C.C., 3:22
 Edones, *polismata* of, 2:129–30
 Edson, 2:107, 109, 125
 Eion, 2:120; 4:18, 103
 is an *emporion*, 4:88
 polis status of, 4:89
 Ekbatana, 1:121; 2:78
 palace at, 1:27
 Ekkeios, 3:146
ekklesiasterion, 1:44–75, 81
 geographical distribution of, 1:75
 few *poleis* had separate *e.*, 1:53
 in written sources, 1:53
 list of known *e.*, 1:55–75
 monumentality of, 1:75
 sizes of, 1:75
 Elaia (Ionia)
 prytaneion at, 1:31
 bouleuterion at, 1:41
 Elaia (Thesprotia), 3:144
 Elaioussa, 2:212
Elaphebolion, 2:203
 Elaphonnesos, 3:144
 Elatos, 4:146
 Elbo, 1:107
 Eleia, 4:133, 141
 Elektrides, 3:144
 Eleusis, 2:205; 3:58–9, 144
 bouleuterion at, 1:39
 Telesterion at, 2:186
 Elimia, 1:115
 Elis, 1:86; 2:35, 61, 93, 96; 3:43, 58, 64–5,
 79–80, 82–83, 89, 92, 97, 98, 103–4,
 114, 139, 144, 148; 4:10, 131–2, 136–
 41, 143–5, 148, 151–2, 155, 157
 and Epeion, 2:88
 and Triphylia, 4:136–41, 146
 archaic administration of centred at Olym-
 pia, 1:16, 86–9
 a region dominated by one *polis*, 2:60
 as an urban centre, 2:59
 bouleuterion at, 1:39
 city of, 1:89
 demes in, 2:71
 perioikoi of, 2:60; 3:73–7, 135–6; 4:136–
 41
 pluraity of *poleis* in region of, 2:59–60
 polis status of, 3:153
 settlement pattern of before 471, 1:89
 synoikism of, 1:16, 35, 87–9; 2:58–60
 temple of Athena at, 2:59
 elite, ritual practices of, 2:7–19
 Elizavetovskoe, 4:69
 Elyros, 3:144
 polis status of, 3:153
emporion, 4:69, 83–105, 111, 116
 and colonisation, 4:97
 Aristotle on, 4:87
 as a dependent *polis*, 4:32–3, 83, 97
 as an institution, 4:83, 85, 86–7
 as a type of settlement, 4:83, 85, 87–91
 Athenocentricity of the evidence, 4:84,
 86
 chronological distribution of the evidence,
 4:89, 94

- emergence of the institution, 4:96
e. in the Kimmerian Bosphoros, 4:107–16
e. of inland cities, 4:100–1
 general references to, 4:87–8
 may be a *polis*, 4:85–6
 modern use of the concept, 4:83–4, 85–6, 95
 known *poleis* being *emporia*, 4:88–91
 known *poleis* possessing *emporia*, 4:86
polis status of cities being *emporia*, 4:89–94
 situated at the coast, 4:87
 subjective use of the term, 4:97–8
 term absent from Archaic sources, 4:84, 94–6
 versus *agora*, 4:96
 versus agricultural colonies, 4:98–100
 Emporion, 3:64, 145; 4:94, 100, 103
 is an *emporion*, 4:88
 polis status of, 3:159; 4:89, 91
 see also Pyrene
Encyclopædia Britannica, 4:9
 Engyion, *theatron* at, 1:49
enktesis, 1:95
 Enna, *theatron* at, 1:49
 Ennea Hodoi, 1:109
 Entella, 1:39
 bouleuterion at, 1:39
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 Eordoi, 2:109
 Epameinondas, 2:25; 3:72, 115–16, 134–5
 Epeioi, and Triphylia, 4:146
 Epeion, 2:96; 3:76, 104; 4:131–2, 134, 138, 143–4, 150–1
 polis status of, 2:88
 Epeiros, 4:20
 Epeirian Confederacy, 2:36
 komai in, 2:63
 tribes of, 2:61
 Ephesos, 1:69; 2:36, 94, 96, 177, 206; 3:143, 145
 bouleuterion at, 1:39
 polis status of, 3:159
 prytaneion at, 1:32, 36
 Royal Stoa at, 1:80
 theatron at, 1:50
 Ephoros, 1:108, 119; 2:74, 90–1; 3:66, 88
 on Torone, 2:105
 Epichos, 3:145, 164
 Epidamnus, 3:35, 145
 bouleuterion at, 1:39
 polis status of, 3:159
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 Epidauros, 2:96; 3:145–7, 188, 192; 4:119
 Asklepieia at, 2:112
 bouleuterion at, 1:39
 polis status of, 3:154
 theatron at, 1:50
 Epidauros Limera, *polis* status of, 3:154
epigamia, 1:95
epineion, as a site-classification, 2:50
 Epitalion, 2:96; 3:76; 4:131–2, 134, 137–40, 143–4, 150–1
 Erasos, 4:146
ereipia, as a site-classification, 2:50
 Eresos, *prytaneion* at, 1:32
 Eretria, 1:84; 2:32, 36, 114, 207; 3:145
 Dystos a *polis* of, 4:30, 37
 polis status of, 3:153
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 social differentiation at, 1:81–2
 Eridanos, 3:145
 Erineon, as a *polisma*, 2:130–1
 Erythrai (Boiotia), 2:49, 218
 Erythrai (Ionia), 2:177, 216; 3:145; 4:24–6
 autonomia of, 2:42
 dependent *poleis* of, 4:24–5
 dikasterion at, 1:78
 polis status of, 3:159
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 Eskrikrym, 4:111
 Eteokarpathioi, 3:150–1
 ethnics,
 as evidence of political status, 3:181–91
 as part of personal names, 3:170–191
 attitude towards the use of ethnics, 3:190
 regional ethnics, 3:174–6
 sub-ethnics, 3:171–3
 used collectively, 3:191–4
ethnikon, 3:174
 in Stephanos of Byzantion, 3:174
 in Strabo, 3:174
 see also city-ethnics, ethnics, sub-ethnics, regional ethnics
ethnos,
 a peculiar use of the term, 4:13
 generic use of the term, 4:11–12
 kata komas oikoumenon, 2:55
 meaning of the term, 4:11–12
 the typical barbarian form of state, 1:15; 4:12
 Etis, 2:218
 Etruria, 2:169
 Eua, 3:95
 Euagoras of Salamis, 3:14
 Euaimon, 3:66, 71, 103, 107

- Euanthis, *polis* status of, 3:154
 Euboia (at Carthage), 3:165
 Euboia, 1:83; 3:10, 144, 146, 150, 154, 171, 179
 Euboian Confederacy, 2:36, 127
eunomia, 2:15
Eupatridai, 2:14–15, 18
 Euripides, 2:174, 205, 209
 Euripos, 3:146
 Eurotas, 3:10, 145; 4:170–1
 Eurymedon, 3:146
 Eurysthenes, 2:93
 Butaia, 2:87, 89, 94, 97; 3:83, 86, 95; 4:175
 polis status of, 2:83–5; 4:35
 Euthyphron, 3:177
 Eutresia, 3:100; 4:35
 Eutresis, 2:49, 64
 as a *kome*, 2:70
 federations, 1:14–15; 3:93
 autonomia of member states, 3:35, 93–100, 118–36
 coins of, 3:39–40
 definition of, 3:42
 follow regional patterns, 1:16
 Triphylian, 4:148–55
 see also tribal states
 Feodosia, 4:50
 Fialko, E., 4:112
 Figueira, T.J., 3:29, 119
 Flensted-Jensen, P., 3:70
 Florence, 1:10
 foreign policy, 1:12, 16
 Forsén, J., 4:166
 Fougères, 1:29
 Fowler, W.W., 1:19
 Fraenkel, 2:73
 Frangovrysi, 4:165, 170
 Frazer, J.G., 1:30
 funerary rites, 2:9, 12–13, 18
 attitudes to, 2:11
 evolution of, 2:14
 reasons for changes in, 2:14
 Gäbler, 4:126
 Gadeira, 3:144, 166
 Gagaia, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:159
 Galatai, 2:217
 Galba, 2:116
 Galepsos, 2:105, 192–4; 3:64; 4:88
 Gallipoli, 2:117
 Gambrión, 2:97
 polis status of, 2:89
 Gardner, E.A., 3:21, 24
 Garkushi, 4:64
 Garland, 2:204
 Gaulos, 3:166
 Gawantka, W., 1:19–20
 Gazoros, as a *kome*, 2:67
 Ge, 2:174
 Gela, 2:109; 3:58; 4:100
 Gelatzi, 4:167
 Gelendzhik Bay, 4:68
 Gell, W., 4:170–1
 Gelon of Syracuse, 2:207; 3:184
 Genete, 3:144
 Genichesk, 4:111
 geometric period, changes at the end of, 2:7, 9, 18–19
 Gerai, 3:145, 164
 Geraistos, 3:143
 Geraneia, 2:54; 3:142
 Gergis, 2:92, 97
 polis status of, 2:89
 Germany, 1:11, 22
 Geroevka, 4:49, 72
gerousia, 3:10
 Gibraltar, 1:15
 Gigonos, 2:122; 4:126
 Ginouvès, R., 1:62
 Giovannini, A., 3:41, 43
 Gjerstad, E., 3:9, 14–15
 Glisas, 2:49
 Gneisz, D., 37, 42
 Gomme, A.W., 2:127
 Gongylos, 2:89, 92
 Gorgion of Eretria, 2:89
 Gorgippia, 4:42, 66–7, 69, 76
 Gortyn, 1:52
 bouleuterion at, 1:39
 dikasterion at, 1:78
 law code of, 1:46, 67; 4:103
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 relations with Kaudos, 2:42; 4:29, 32
 relations with Rhitténia, 2:35; 3:136
 Gortynia, 2:109
 Gortys in Arkadia, see Kortys
 Graia, 2:48
 Granos, 3:143
 Graphara, 3:145, 166
 Griffith, G.T., 4:118
 Grimm, 1:20, 22
 Gronov, 4:23
 Grote, G., 4:138–9, 144, 150
 Gryneion, 2:97; 4:19, 26

- polis* status of, 2:89–90; 4:22–3
 Gschnitzer, F., 2:106; 3:11
 Gyenos, 3:145, 165
 Gytheion, 3:144
 Gäbler, H., 2:126
- Habicht, C., 2:211, 215
 Haimoniai, 2:218; 4:167, 175
 Haiioleion, 2:121–25
 polis status, 2:117–8
 Haisa, 2:122–3; 4:126
 Halai, 2:48–9
 Halia, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:154
 Haliakmon, 3:145
 Haliartos, 2:49, 57; 3:131
 Haliéis, 4:167
 Halikarnassos, 1:29; 3:18, 145
 bouleuterion at, 1:39
 Hellenistic assembly attendance at, 1:72
 polis status of, 3:159
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 “sacred market” at, 1:47
 Halike, 2:218
 Halisarna, 2:94, 97
 polis status of, 2:90
 Halos, *prytaneion* at, 1:32
 Halys, 3:146
 Hamaxitos, 2:97; 4:32
 polis status of, 2:90–1
 Hamburg, 1:12
 Hammond, N.G.L., 2:103, 108, 110, 112–13,
 115–16, 127; 3:137; 4:117–8, 120
 Hampl, F., 2:103, 127
 Hansen, M.H., 1:9, 99, 118, 2:122; 3:30, 68–
 9, 72, 99, 113–25; 4:60, 143
 Harappa, 1:11
 Harma, 2:48–9, 218
 as a *kome*, 2:69
 Harmene, 3:145, 149, 152
 polis status of, 3:159
 Harmodios, 1:31
 Harpagos, 2:128
 Harpine, 2:218
 Harpokration, 3:96
 Harrison, E., 2:109
 Hatzopoulos, M.B., 2:103, 110, 115, 124,
 127; 4:117–20
 Hausa, 1:11
 Head, B.V., 2:126; 3:51, 56–9, 86
 Hebdomos, 3:145, 165
 Hebros, 3:145
 Hegel, F., 1:21
- Hekataios of Miletos, 1:119, 121; 2:41, 89,
 90; 2:117, 197; 3:138, 149–50
 Genealogiai of, 4:25–7
 generates toponyms, 4:20
 list of *poleis* in, 4:18–19
 on barbarian communities, 4:19–20
 on Thorikos, 4:25–7
 Periegesis Ges of, 4:17
 site-classifications in, 4:18, 95
 use of *polis*, 4:17–27
 Hekate, 2:174
 Heleon, 2:48
 as a *kome*, 2:70
 Helike, 2:218
 Helisson, 2:65, 81; 3:66, 83, 103, 105
 as a dependent *polis*, 3:67–70
 as a Mantineian *kome*, 2:73; 4:30
 polis status of, 2:85
 sympoliteia with Mantineia, 2:56, 73–5;
 3:67–70; 4:29–30, 35, 37
 Helisson valley, 4:170
 Hellanikos, 1:119; 4:23
 Hellas, 1:10, 14–16; 2:46, 78, 81
 in Pseudo-Skylax, 3:138, 146–8, 152–3
 Hellenic League against Persia, 3:79; 4:142
 members were states, 4:142–3
 Hellespontos, 2:128
 Heloron, 3:144
 polis status of, 3:159
 Hephaistia, 3:64; 4:29
 polis status of, 2:45; 4:33–4
 Hephaistos, at Memphis, 3:34
 Hera, 2:203, 209; 3:18, 21, 34
 at Korkyra, 3:35
 at Lesbos, 2:206
 at Samos, 1:26
 Heraia, 1:89; 2:58; 3:48, 51–2, 55, 76, 79, 92,
 94, 97, 104, 107, 141
 and the Peloponnesian League, 3:89
 synoikism of, 2:60
 Heraieis, 2:54, 72
 Heraion (Argive), 2:10–13, 17
 secondary sanctuary of, 2:12–3
 Heraion (Samian), 1:26
 Herakleia (Illyria), 3:145, 165
 Herakleia in Trachis, 3:137, 141
 Herakleia Pontike, 2:195, 197; 3:145; 4:95,
 116
 bouleuterion at, 1:39
 Herakleia under Latmos, *bouleuterion* at,
 1:39
 Herakleion, 3:145, 151–2, 166
 polis status of, 3:159

- Herakles, 4:55
 at Tiryns, 2:17
 Herennius Philo, 1:119
 Hermaia, 3:143, 165
 Hermeias of Methymna, 4:33, 92, 105
 Hermione, 3:58, 145; 4:167
 polis status of, 3:154
 Hermonassa, 4:19, 26, 51, 55–7, 73, 77
 polis status of, 4:23
 Hermos, 3:146
 hero cults, 2:12–13
 Herodotos, 1:107–8, 118; 2:51, 55–6, 69, 78–
 9, 81, 88, 90, 92–3, 108–10, 114, 122–
 23, 127–8, 131, 173–4, 203; 3:9, 15, 49,
 51, 56, 75–6, 86, 88, 110, 137, 149–50,
 171, 193; 4:10–11
 in Steph. Byz., 1:110–11
 on Kleomenes I of Sparta, 3:45–6
 on Krete, 2:109
 on Naukratis, 3:17–37
 on Teisamenos of Elis, 3:46–7
 Pontic *emporion* in, 4:107–16
 site-classification in, 2:62
 ta basileia in, 1:27
 Hesiod, 2:51, 80; 4:94
 Hesperides, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:159
 Hestia, 1:34
 Boulaia, 2:170
 Hetairichos of Thisoa, 3:85
 Hierapytna, *prytaneion* at, 1:32
 hierarchy, of *poleis*, 1:13–14
hieron, as a site-classification, 2:50
 Hieron of Syracuse, 2:207
 Hieronakroterion, 3:143
 Himera, 2:97; 3:145; 4:88
 polis status of, 3:159
 Hippodamos, 1:84
 Hippokratic corpus, 3:9
 Hippola, 2:218
 Hippoleos, 4:109
 Hippomachos of Miletos, 2:41
 Hippon, 3:145, 166
 Histiaia, 2:63; 3:145; 4:84
 has an *emporion*, 4:86
 komai at, 2:63
 polis status of, 3:154
 Histria, 4:98, 104
 Hodgkinson, S., 3:115; 4:176
 Hoepfner, W., 1:83–4
 Hogarth, D.G., 3:21–4, 29
 Holmberg, E.J., 4:163, 165, 167, 169, 170
 Holmoi, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:159
 Homer, 1:107, 122; 2:51, 209; 3:37; 4:94, 96
 Alkinoos' palace in, 1:26
 Catalogue of Ships, 4:23
 Homeric society, 1:48; 2:7
 in Steph. Byz., 1:109–10, 117–8
 meeting place of assemblies in, 1:45
 palaces in, 1:27
 Priam's palace in, 1:26
 Homolion, 3:138
 Hong Kong, 1:12; 3:19
 Honigman, E., 1:100, 123
 Hornblower, S., 2:108, 126; 3:41
 Hulot, 1:29
 Huxley, G.L., 1:124
 Hyampolis, 2:203
 bouleuterion at, 1:39
 cult continuity at, 2:203
 Hybla Meizon, 2:218
 Hydroeis, 3:144
 polis status of, 3:159
 Hydrous, 3:144
 Hyettos, 2:49
 as a *kome*, 2:70
 Hykkara, as a *polisma*, 2:130
 Hylai, 2:49
 Hylaia, 4:115
Hylleis, at Megara, 2:72
 Hymettos, 2:12
 Hyope, 4:19
 Hyops, 4:18–19
 Hypakiris, 4:115
 Hypana, 4:131, 134
 polis status of, 4:132
 Hypanis, 4:102, 107, 109, 111
 Hypereides, 2:204
 Hypios, 3:146
 Hypsos, 2:218
 Hysiai (Argolis), 2:218
 Hysiai (Boiotia), 2:48–9, 218
 Iaitas, 1:42
 bouleuterion at, 1:39
 Ialysos, 3:178
 Iapygia, 2:109
 Iasonia, 3:143
 Iasos,
 as a *polisma*, 2:130
 autonomia of, 2:42
 bouleuterion at, 1:39
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 Iberos, 3:145
 Idalion, 3:13–14

- idiotes*, 1:95
 Idyma, 2:111, 199
 Idyros, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:159
 Ikaros, 3:143
 polis status of, 3:154
 Ikos, 3:143, 147–8
 polis status of, 3:154
Iliad, 2:7; 203; 3:36
 Ilion, 2:97, 209; 4:32
 bouleuterion at, 1:41
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 Ilissos, 2:172
 Illyria, 3:137; 4:87
 Imbros, 2:36, 97; 3:121, 130, 144
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 polis status of, 2:45; 3:159
 Inaros, 3:25
 Indus valley, 1:11
 Inessa, as a *polis*, 2:130
 Ionia, 2:118, 128, 212; 4:30
 polismata of, 2:131
 Ionian League,
 Panionion of, 1:67–9; 3:21, 24
 Ionian Revolt, 4:54
 Ionian Sea, 4:132
 Ionians, 1:67; 2:36, 56; 3:18, 81
 colonisation of, 4:42, 44, 51, 55, 59
 Ionian calenders, 2:203
 migration of, 2:8
 Ios, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:154
 Ioul, 3:143, 166
 Ioulis, 2:199; 4:30
 and Koresia, 4:37
 polis status of, 3:154
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 Iphikrates, 4:121
 Ireland, 1:11
 Isagoras, 2:203
 Isai, 3:144
 Isaïos, 2:121
 Isinda, 2:212
 Isis, at Memphis, 3:34
 Isis (river), 3:145
 Ismene, as a *kome*, 2:70
 Isokrates, 1:80; 2:39, 57, 61; 3:8, 73, 114,
 116, 118, 122, 133
isonomia, 2:8, 11
 Isos, 2:48
 Issa, 3:144
 polis status of, 3:159
 Isthmia, 3:32
 Isthmos, 3:50, 141, 144; 4:142
 Istone, 4:121
 Istria, 4:110, 114
 Istris, 3:144
 Istros, 2:196, 198; 3:145; 4:101, 110, 114
 Italy, 1:28; 3:137
 Ithaka, 1:45; 3:144
 polis status of, 3:154
 Ithome, 3:44
 Ityke, 3:145, 166
 Ixias, 4:18–19

 Jacoby, F., 3:88; 4:17, 25, 26
 Jakarta, 1:11
 Jason of Pherai, 2:199
 Jeffery, L.H., 2:59
 Jenkins, G.K., 3:41
 Jones, N.F., 2:71–2
 Josephus, 1:107; 2:202
 in Steph. Byz., 1:115
 Jost, M., 3:61; 4:170
 Juppiter, 1:71; 2:169
 Justinian, 1:116, 120
 Justinus, 3:122

 Kabalis, 1:115
 Kabeiroi, 2:49
 Kadiston, Mt., 3:144
 Kadmeia at Thebes, 2:27
 Kadoi, 1:115
 Kahrstedt, U., 2:127
 Kaikos, 2:90; 3:146
 Kalamoto, 2:112, 114, 116–17
 Kalauria, 3:144
 bouleuterion at, 1:40
 polis status of, 3:155
 Kalauros, 2:108
 Kalchedon, 2:97
 Kalindoia, 2:103, 111–19, 122, 125; 4:118,
 125
 location of, 2:112–15
 polis status of, 2:112–16
 Kallatis, 2:196–7
 bouleuterion at, 1:40
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 Kalliai, 3:107, 110–11
 Kallias of Chalkis, 2:36
 Kallias, decree of, 2:186
 Kallichoros, 3:146
 Kallion, *bouleuterion* at, 1:40
 Kallipolis, 3:145, 165
 Kallistratos of Aphidna, 3:95
 Kalpe, 2:79

- Kalydon, 2:93
 bouleuterion at, 1:40
 Kalymna, 3:144, 178
 Kalypsous, 3:144
 Kamarina, 3:184
 Kambyes, 3:18
 Kameiros, 3:178
 Kampsas, 2:123; 4:117
 and the Skapsaians, 4:122–5
 Kanastraion, 3:143
 Kanobos, 4:103
 is an *emporion*, 4:88
 polis status of, 4:89
 Kap Dolojman, 2:198
 Kap Paxi, 2:194
 Kaphyia, 3:48, 94
 Karageorghis, V., 3:13
 Karambis, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:159
 Kardia, 4:21, 22, 26
 Karians, 3:35
 Karkinitis, 2:195–7; 4:115
 Karnos, 3:144
 Karoussa, 3:145, 152
 polis status of, 3:159
 Karpas, 3:13
 Karpathos, 3:146, 150–1
 polis status of, 3:160
 Karthaia, 2:199
 polis status of, 3:155
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 Karyanda, 3:144
 polis status of, 3:160
 Karyshkovsky, P.A., 4:108, 110
 Karystos,
 bouleuterion at, 1:40
 polis status of, 3:155
 Kasmenai, 3:64; 4:30, 69
 polis status of, 4:36
 Kasolaba, 2:65
 Kasos, 3:144
 Kassandros, 2:125; 4:127
 Kassope, 1:75
 ekklesiasterion at, 1:62–3
 prytaneion at, 1:32, 35–6
 seating capacity of *ekklesiasterion*, 1:63
 synoikism of, 2:61
 Kassopoi of Epeiros, 2:61
 Katane, 3:58; 4:18, 26
 polis status of, 4:23
 theatron at, 1:49
 Katarbates, 3:145
 Katarrhaktes, 3:146
 Kato Asea, 4:175
 Kato Symi, cult continuity at, 2:203
 Kaudos, 4:29, 32
 autonomia of, 2:42
 Kaukalos, 3:144
 as a kome, 2:66
 Kaukasis, 3:145, 165
 Kaukasus, 2:130
 Kaukones,
 and Arkadia, 4:135, 146–7
 and Triphylia, 4:134, 144
 Kaulonia, 3:58
 Kaunos, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:160
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 Kaystos, 3:146
 Kazantip Bay, 4:112
 Kebren, 2:97
 polis status of, 2:91
 Kedreiai, 2:97
 Keen, A.G., 3:127–30, 132–36
 Kelenderis, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:160
 Kemakai, 2:111, 118–20, 122, 124–25; 4:125
 etymology of toponym, 2:116
 polis status of, 2:116–7
 Kemakaia, 2:118
 Kenaion, 3:144
 Kenchreai, 3:146
 Kentopia, 2:130
 Keos, 2:199; 3:146, 155, 179; 4:30
 Kephallenia, 3:144
 Kephesias, 3:144
 Kepoi, 4:51, 57–8, 73, 77
 Kerameikos, *ostraka* from, 3:176
 Keramiakos, 3:144
 Kerasous, 3:145, 152, 165
 Kerch peninsula, 4:71, 76, 79, 81, 112, 114–15
 Kerch vases, 4:115
 Keressos, 2:49–50
 Kerkinitis, 3:144, 164
 Kerne, 3:144
 Kerch strait, 4:62
 Kersobleptes, 4:87
 Kianoukolpos, 3:143
 Kibyra, *polis* status of, 3:160
 Kiev, 1:11
 Kiepert, 4:111
 Kikynethos, 3:144, 147
 polis status of, 3:155
 Kimmeria, 4:113
 Kimmerikon, 4:64, 69, 72, 80

- Kimmeris, 4:68
 Kimolos, *prytaneion* at, 1:32
 Kinadon, 3:74
 Kinch, K.F., 2:108
 King's Peace, 2:27–8, 31, 39; 3:113–16,
 119–22, 127–9, 132–3; 4:30, 34, 36
kingklides, 2:147–51
 kingship,
 nature of Kyprian kingdoms, 3:7–15
 nature of oriental kingdoms, 3:11
 see also Bosporan Kingdom
 Kinolis, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:160
 Kinyps, 3:145–6, 151
 polis status of, 3:160
 Kios, 3:145–6
 polis status of, 3:160
 Kirchner, J., 1:104
 Kisseitai, 2:124
 Kissos (Krousis), 2:124
 Kissos (Mt.), 2:124
 Kithas, 2:122–5; 4:117
 and Skithai, 4:125–7
 Kition, 3:10, 13
 Klaros, *prytaneion* at, 1:32
 Klausen, 3:142
 Klazomenai, 2:76, 177; 3:18, 145; 4:87
 polis status of, 3:160
 Kleisthenes of Athens, 3:176; 4:26
 Kleitor, 2:97; 3:41, 47, 51–3, 55, 79, 87, 92,
 94, 99, 102, 104, 107, 191–2; 4:35, 146
 and the Peloponnesian League, 3:92
 hegemonic league of, 3:86
 Kleomenes I of Sparta, 3:41, 44, 50, 52–4
 in Arkadia, 3:45–6
 Kleon, 3:124
 Kleonai (Argolis), 3:58
 Kleonai (Chalkidike), 3:145
 polis status of, 3:160
 Kleophon, 2:188
 klerouchies, as *poleis*, 2:45
 Knakion, 1:44
 Knidos, 3:18, 145, 173
 bouleuterion at, 1:40
 dikasterion at, 1:78
 polis status of, 3:160
 Knossos, 3:58
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 Kobrys, 3:144; 4:103
 is an *emporion*, 4:88
 polis status of, 4:89–90
 Koehler, U., 2:196
 Kokylion, 2:97
 Kolb, 1:46, 48, 51–2
 Kolonai, 2:94, 97; 4:32
 polis status of, 2:91
 Kolophon, 2:36, 208; 4:30,
 and Notion, 4:36–7, 100–1, 105
 exiles from, 2:92
 Hellenistic assembly attendance at, 1:72
 prytaneion at, 1:32, 36
 Koloussa, 3:145, 165
kome, 2:45–81; 4:64, 83
 ancient versus modern concept of, 2:48–
 52
 as a dependency, 2:73–5
 as a municipality, 2:71–3
 as a political community, 2:71–7
 as a topographical term, 2:61–3
 barbarian *k.* in Greek colonies, 2:79–80
 created by *dioikismos*, 2:75–8
 difference between *k.* and *polis*, 2:61–2
 geographical distributions of *k.*, 2:69
 in Boiotia, 2:69–70
 in contemporary contexts, 2:61–80
 in ancient historical analysis, 2:52–61
 in archaic and classical sources, 2:63–7
 in Aristotle, 2:52–4, 57–61
 in Hellenistic sources, 2:67–8
 in Thucydides, 2:52–7
 meanings of the term, 2:50–1
 often a socio-economic term, 2:71
 orthodox view of *k.*, 2:50
 rarity of the term, 2:51–2
 used about barbarian communities, 2:78–
 80
komion, as a site-classification, 2:50
 Konon, on the Bottiaians, 2:109
 Kopai, 2:49
 Kope, 3:144
 Korakesion, *polis* status of, 3:160
 Kore, 2:172, 174; 3:58
 Koresia (Boiotia), 2:49
 Koresia (Keos), 2:199; 3:179; 4:30, 167, 176
 polis status of, 3:155; 4:37
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 Korinthia, 2:11, 13, 18
 funerary rites in, 2:10
 Korinthos, 1:47; 2:97; 3:14, 130, 141–2,
 145–6; 4:86–7, 97, 103–4
 bouleuterion at, 1:40
 colonies of, 4:29–30, 33, 93
 has an *emporion*, 4:86
 polis status of, 3:155
 Korkyra, 1:32; 2:61, 97; 3:35, 144, 178; 4:20,
 121, 142

- polis* status of, 3:160
prytaneion at, 1:32
 temple of Artemis at, 2:169
 Korokondama, 4:68, 71
 Korokondamitis, 4:51
 Koroneia, 2:27, 52; 3:114
 Korsak, 4:112
 Kortys, 3:48, 97, 102, 105, 111
 Kos, 2:208–9; 3:58, 144, 177
 demes on, 3:178
 polis status of, 3:160
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 Kotys of Thrace, 4:83, 87, 90–1, 97, 104
 Koudatos, 3:145
 Kouklia-Palaipaphos, 3:12
 Kraay, C.M., 3:41, 51, 54–5
 Krabis, 3:146
 Krannon, 3:58, 173
 Krateiai, 3:144
 Krateros, 4:23
 Krathis, 3:145
 Kratinos, 2:173–4
 Krause, C., 1:83
 Kravari, 4:175
 Kremmyon, 3:146
 Kremnoi, 4:103, 107, 115–16
 is an *emporion*, 4:88
 location of, 4:111–15
 polis status of, 4:90
 Krete, 1:39, 83; 2:16, 35, 109; 3:10, 14, 136,
 138, 144, 189; 4:32, 104, 142
 Kreousa, 2:49
 Kretopolis, see Ariassos
 Kreusis, 2:49; 4:121
 Krim, 2:196
 Kriou Metopon, 3:143
 Kritias, 2:148, 151–2, 185
 Kritoboulos of Torone, 2:122
 Kroisos, 2:176, 206; 3:35
 palace of, 1:27
 Kroll, J.H., 3:58
 Kromoi, 2:218
 Kroton, 3:57–8
 Krousis, 2:106, 123–4; 4:124, 126–27
 Kryassos, 3:143
 Ktesiphon, 2:178
 Ktimene, 4:10
 Kuban, 4:23, 59, 72, 76
 Kuhn, E., 2:50
 Kuznetsov, V.D., 4:54
 Kyaxares, 3:25
 Kybasis, 3:144
 Kybele, 2:172–3, 174–76, 189
 Kydonia, 3:145
 as a *kome*, 2:67
 polis status of, 3:155
 Kyklades, 2:13, 69; 3:138, 144
 Kyllene (Elis), 2:214; 3:148
 polis status of, 3:155
 Kyllene, Mt., 4:146
 Kylon, 2:15
 Kyme (Aiolis), 2:177; 3:145
 as colonizer, 2:91
 bouleuterion at, 1:40
 polis status of, 3:160
 Kyme (Italy), 3:145, 149; 4:99
 polis status of, 3:160
 Kynos, 4:19, 26
 polis status of, 4:23–4
 Kynosoura, 2:55
 Kynosouris, 2:72
 Kynouria, 3:85, 94, 97–8, 100–1, 108; 4:35,
 155, 157, 160
 Kypasis, 4:103
 is an *emporion*, 4:88
 polis status of, 4:89–90
 Kypros, 1:27; 3:144
 polis status of Kyprian communities, 3:7–
 15
 Kypsela, 3:64, 105; 4:121
 Kypselidai, 1:26
 Kyrene, 1:26–7; 3:8–9, 11, 34, 144, 193
 constitution of, 1:93
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 Kyrnos, 3:144
 Kyros Minor, 2:203; 3:60
 Kyros the Great, 1:46; 2:56; 3:35
 Kyrtones, 2:49
 Kytai, 4:64, 69
 Kythera, 2:36, 98, 130; 3:10, 64, 144, 147–8;
 4:29–30
 and Skandeia, 4:100–1, 105
 polis status of, 3:155; 4:34
 Kythnos, 3:144
 polis status of, 3:155
 Kytinion, as a *polisma*, 2:130–1
 Kytoron, 3:145; 4:103
 is an *emporion*, 4:88
 polis status of, 3:160; 4:89
 Kyzikos, 2:173–4
 bouleuterion at, 1:40
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 Lagash, 1:10
 Lakedaimon, 3:142
 in Pseudo-Skylax, 3:142

- see also Sparta
 Lakinion, 3:144
 Lakonia, 2:13, 18, 60, 81; 3:73, 89; 4:145
 komai in, 2:74
 perioikic communities in, 2:25, 28, 36;
 3:115–6, 122, 134–6, 185; 4:29–30, 34
 Lamia, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:155
 Lampon, 2:173, 204
 Lampsakos, 2:99
 autonomia of, 2:42
 komai at, 2:73
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 Laodikeia, *prytaneion* at, 1:32
 Laodokeion, 3:48
 Lapin, V.V., 4:109
 Larine, as a *kome*, 2:66
 Larisa (Aiolis), 1:28, 83; 2:99; 4:32
 Bît-Hilâni at, 1:27
 Larissa (Thessalia), 3:58
 prytaneion at, 1:32
 Larsen, J.A.O., 2:127; 3:41–3, 46, 93, 96
 Larymna, 2:48–9
 Las, 3:145, 147
 polis status of, 3:155
 Lasion, 2:93; 3:43, 65, 94, 103–4; 4:150
 as a perioikic *polis*, 3:73–7
 Lathuresa, 1:82
 Lato, 1:74–5
 dikasterion at, 1:78
 ekklesiasterion at, 1:63–5
 prytaneion at, 1:33–6
 Latoreia, as a *kome*, 2:68
 Latyshev, V.V., 4:109
 Lauter, H., 1:82
 Lavda, 3:85
 Lawrence, 1:24
 Lebadeia, 2:50
 Lebedos, *autonomia* of, 2:42
 synoikism with Teos, 2:42
 Ledon, 2:215–16, 218
 Lefkandi, 1:82; 3:13–14
 Leipzig, 3:18
 Lemnos, 2:36, 99; 3:64, 121, 130, 144; 4:29,
 33
 Lenz, J., 3:8
 Leokrates, 2:204
 Leontinoi, 2:27, 99
 dikasterion at, 1:78
 Lepreon, 2:36; 3:43, 76–7, 94–5, 97, 104;
 4:131–4, 136–40, 142, 144, 150–54,
 156–7
 and Elis, 136–7
 and the Hellenic League against Persia,
 4:142–3
 and the Olympic Games, 4:141
 in the Arkadian Confederacy, 4:154–5
 polis status of, 4:132
 Leros, 2:191–2, 195; 4:10
 Lesbos, 2:36, 40, 206; 3:40, 144; 4:31
 Leston, 3:145
 Letrinoi, 2:99; 4:138, 139, 151
 Leukai, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:161
 Leukania, 3:143
 Leukas, 3:145; 4:10
 polis status of, 3:155
 Leukata, 3:143
 Leuke, 3:144
 Leukon I of Bosphoros, 4:79, 90, 116
 Leukophrys, 2:88, 93, 99
 polis status of, 2:91–2
 Leuktra, 2:24, 49, 52; 3:74, 88, 94; 4:151–2
 Lévy, E., 2:29, 38
 Lewis, D., 3:41
 Lianos, 4:175
 Libya, 3:138
 Lichas of Sparta, 3:188
 Lilybaion, 3:143
limen, as a site-classification, 2:50
 Limerick, 1:11
 Limnai, 2:54
 Limnaia, 2:66
 Limnaios, 2:125
 Limne, 3:145, 165
 Limyra, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:161
 Lindos, 3:36, 178
 komai at, 2:73
 Lipara, 3:144
 prytaneion at, 1:33
 Lisai, 2:123
 Lissa, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:155
 Livanâtes, 4:23
 Lixos, 3:145–6, 166
 Lloyd, A.B., 3:22
 Lokris, 2:62–3; 4:10
 East Lokris, 4:21, 23–4, 26
 komai in, 2:64
 Lokrian Confederacy, 2:36
 Loukopoulou, L.D., 2:103, 115, 124, 127
 Lousoi, 2:218; 3:69, 94
 Lübeck, 1:10
 Lydia, 3:32
 Lydias, 3:145

- Lykaia (Kynouria), 3:97,
 Lykaia (Mainalia), 3:102
 Lykaian Games, 3:51, 55, 59–61, 188
 Lykaion, 3:55–6, 59–61
 Lykaon, 4:134, 135
 Lykastos, 3:145–6, 152
 polis status of, 3:161
 Lykia, 2:64, 68, 128–9; 3:137–8
 Lykoa, 2:218
 Lykomedes of Mantinea, 3:96–7
 Lykophron of Athens, 4:33
 Lykos, 3:146
 Lykos of Rhegium, 1:106
 Lykosoura, 3:99, 102
 Lykourgos of Sparta, 2:206
 Lykourgos of Athens, 1:51; 2:40, 204
 Lynkestis, 2:65
 komai in, 2:64
 Lyrnateia, 3:144
 Lysias, 2:188
 Lysimachos, 2:76, 111, 125
- Maa, 3:7
 Macan, R.W., 2:109
 Macedon, 1:17; 2:38, 69, 80, 103, 105–6,
 108–9, 111, 113, 118; 3:152; 4:10, 20,
 78, 87, 126
 Madvig, J.N., 1:20–2
 Magna Graecia, 2:69; 4:98
 Magnesia on the Maiandros, 2:91–2, 209;
 3:145
 bouleuterion at, 1:40
 Hellenistic assembly attendance at, 1:72
 polis status of, 3:161
 prytaneion at, 1:33, 36
 Maiandros, 3:146
 Mainalia, 3:67, 80–1, 83, 93–5, 97–104, 107–
 9, 111, 181; 4:30, 35, 129, 152, 153,
 158–60, 175
 and the Peloponnesian League, 3:90
 Mainalos, 3:181
 Maiotis, 3:144; 4:51, 110–14
 Maiotians, 4:69
 Makasar, 1:11
 Makiston, 3:76; 4:134–5, 137–8, 140, 143–4,
 150–1
 in the Triphylian federation, 4:149
 in Steph. Byz., 4:136
 Malea, 3:143
 Malis, 3:141
 Mallia, *prytaneion* at, 1:33
 Mallos, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:161
- Mallota, 4:167, 175
 Manaris, 4:175
 Mangalia, *prytaneion* at, 1:33
 Mania, 2:90
 Manios, 3:144
manteion, as a site-classification, 2:50
 Mantinea, 1:89; 2:35, 58, 62, 73–8, 81, 83,
 99; 3:41, 44, 46, 48–53, 55, 65–71, 75,
 79–87, 98–105, 107–8, 111, 114, 120,
 122, 141; 4:154, 159–60, 169, 175–6
 and the Peloponnesian League, 3:90–1
 as a *polis kata komas oikoumene*, 2:79
 bouleuterion at, 1:40
 dependent *poleis* of, 3:66–70
 dioikismos of, 2:76–7
 hegemonic league of, 2:36; 3:79–84
 komai at, 2:76–7; 3:178; 4:30
 sympoliteia with Helisson, 2:56, 73–5;
 4:29–30, 35, 37
 synoikism of, 2:60
 theatron at, 1:51
 Mantinike, 3:66–7, 70, 103; 4:121
 Marathon, 2:208; 3:35
 Marcellus of Side, 1:104
 Marchese, R.T., 2:91–2
 Marcianus, 1:119
 Mardonios, 4:120
 Marganeis, 2:99; 4:138, 148, 151
 Marianos, 1:29
 Marion, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:161
 Marmaria, 4:174
 Maroneia, 3:145; 4:19, 26, 90–1
 polis status of, 3:161; 4:24, 89
 Marpeossos, 2:218
 Marseilles, 1:10
 Martin, R., 1:46, 123
 Martin, V., 3:122
 Martorano, F., 1:72, 74
 Mases, 4:167
 Maslennikov, A.A., 4:112
 Massalia, 3:64, 145; 4:94
 polis status of, 3:161
 Mausos, as a *kome*, 2:65
 Maussolos, 4:36
 Mazousia, 4:21
 Medea, 4:44
 Medes, 2:27, 78
 polisma of, 2:130
 Megale Vrysi, 4:171
 Megalopolis, 1:99; 2:85; 3:43, 55–6, 60, 66,
 72–4, 84–5, 94–6, 98–102, 104–5, 107–
 9; 4:10, 156, 159–60, 163, 165, 167,

- 170, 172, 175
 civic *bouleuterion* at, 1:40
 federal *bouleuterion* at, 1:40
komai at, 2:64
perioikoi of, 3:75
 stoa at, 1:80
 synoikism of, 2:85
 Megara, 2:54, 72, 74–5, 204; 3:141–3, 145, 192; 4:10, 120
bouleuterion at, 1:40
 Dorian tribes at, 2:72
hekatostys at, 2:72
komai at, 2:64, 72; 3:178
polis status of, 3:155
prytaneion at, 1:33
 synoikism of, 2:53, 72
 Megara Hyblaia, 2:207
 Megaris, 2:74–5; 3:142–3, 148
 in Pseudo-Skylax, 3:142
 komai in, 2:53–4, 62, 72
 Megaris (Sicily), 3:144
 polis status of, 3:161
 Megiste, 3:144
 Meidias, 2:89, 92
 Meineke, A., 1:101–2, 105–6, 124; 3:61
 Mekyberna, 2:194; 3:145; 4:122
 polis status of, 3:161
 Melaka, 1:11
 Melas, 3:144–5
 Melieus, 3:144
 Melite, 3:144, 166
 Melos, 3:144
 Memnonion in Abydos, 3:185; 4:92
 Memphis, 1:27; 3:23–4, 29
 Mende, 2:120, 194; 4:122, 124
 Menedemos of Mykale, 3:181
 Menekine, 4:18–19
 Menexenos, 2:121–2
 Menidi, 2:12–4
 Menippos, 4:23
 Menon, 2:205
 Mentorides, 3:144
 Meritt, B.D., 2:103, 107
 Merrillees, R., 3:11
 Mes, 3:145, 165
 Mesambria, 2:195; 4:25, 30
 polis status of, 4:36
 Mesapios, 3:145
 Mesoa, 2:55
 Messene (Messenia), 3:97–8, 137, 142; 4:10
 bouleuterion at, 1:40; 2:170, 179
 polis status of, 3:155
 Messene (Sicily), 2:27, 128; 3:145
 polis status of, 3:161
 Messenia, 3:44, 88; 4:131, 132, 155
 perioikic communities in, 2:24–5, 28, 36; 3:115–6, 122, 185
 Metapioi, 2:59
 and the synoikism of Elis, 2:59
 Metapontion, 1:57, 75; 3:58; 4:98, 104
ekklesiasterion at, 1:65–7
 Zeus Agoraios at, 1:65
 Metasoris, 3:145
 Methana, 3:145, 147
 polis status of, 3:155
 Methone, 3:58, 145
 polis status of, 3:161
 Methydrion, 3:55, 84–5, 107–8
 polis status of, 3:85
 Methymna, 2:33, 99
 autonomia of in the Delian League, 2:33
 prytaneion at, 1:33
 Mihailov, G., 2:109
 Milan, 1:10
Milesion Teichos, 3:25
 Miletos, 1:72; 2:36, 131, 177, 191, 195, 204, 206; 3:18, 25–6, 36; 4:22–3, 30, 44, 50, 57, 59–60, 81, 84, 102, 111
 autonomia of, 2:41
 bouleuterion at, 1:40, 44
 has an *emporion*, 4:86
 kome, 2:68
 Milesioi ek Lerou, 2:192; 4:10
 Milesioi ek Teichiousses, 2:192
 prytaneion at, 1:33
 theatron at, 1:50
 Miller, S., 1:31, 35–7, 62; 2:155, 157–9, 165–6, 168, 171–2, 184, 186
 Miltiades of Athens, 1:81
 Miltiades the Elder, 4:21
 Minns, E.H., 4:111, 115
 Minoa, *bouleuterion* at, 1:40
 Minoans on Krete, 2:110
 Minos, 2:52, 54, 109
 Minyans, and Triphylia, 4:134, 146
 models, flaws of m. used in analysis of the Greek city-state, 1:13–4
 Moggi, M., 3:84
 Mohenjo-Daro, 1:11
 Molochnoye, 4:112
 Molottoi, 2:61
 Momemphis, 3:35
 Montesquieu, 3:190
 Morgantina,
 bouleuterion at, 1:40
 prytaneion at, 1:33, 36

- Morris, I., 2:11; 3:8, 15
 Moschion, 2:57
 Mother of the Gods, 2:142, 169, 173–8, 189
 at Asea, 4:165, 170–1
 at Athens, 2:155, 171–3, 175, 177–8
 Mountain Mother, 2:174
 temple at Athens, 2:171, 178
 Murlo, 1:28
 Mycenaeans, 3:7
 Mygdonia, 2:106–7, 113, 115
 kome in, 2:67
 Mykale, 1:67, 69; 3:24, 32, 181
 Mykalessos, 2:48–9, 62, 69, 218; 3:122; 4:29
 as a *kome*, 2:45, 70
 polis status of, 2:45–6; 3:63; 4:31
 Mykenai, 2:11–12, 17, 209
 as a *kome*, 2:72
 as a *polisma*, 2:129–30, 131
 Mykonos, 3:143, 148
 polis status of, 3:155
 Mylai, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:161
 Mylasa, 2:79; 3:173
 kome in, 2:67
 polis status of, 4:36
 Müller-Wiener, W., 1:24
 Myndos, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:161
 Myriandros, 3:144; 4:103
 is an *emporion*, 4:88
 polis status of, 4:89
 Myrina, 2:99; 3:64, 145; 4:29
 polis status of, 2:92; 3:161; 4:33–4
 Myrmekion, 4:60–2, 68, 72, 76–7
 Myrrhine, *polis* status of, 2:45
 Mysia, 2:27, 78, 130
 komai in, 2:64
 myths, of legitimation, 2:12, 17–8
 Mytilene, 2:33, 99; 3:18, 32, 124, 138; 4:23,
 29, 32, 55, 59
 bouleuterion at, 1:40
 mainland *polismata* of, 2:130–1
 polis status of, 3:161
 prytaneion at, 1:33
 Mzap, 1:11
 Nagidos, 3:145; 4:19, 26
 polis status of, 3:161; 4:24
 Nakrasa, *prytaneion* at, 1:33
 naming customs, 3:169–196
 in Athens, 3:176–8
 Naro, 3:145
 naturalization, 1:95
 Naukratis, 2:206; 3:17–37; 4:29–30, 94, 96,
 100, 103, 105
 Aphrodite at, 3:21–2, 27–9
 Apollo at, 3:19, 22, 27
 Artemis at, 3:22
 city-ethnic of, 4:92–3
 excavations of, 3:18–28
 Hera at, 3:21, 24
 Herakles at, 3:22
 in Herodotos, 3:17–37; 4:84
 in Strabo, 3:25
 is an *emporion*, 4:88
 Milesian Apollo, 3:26, 30
 (*Pan*)*Hellenion* at, 3:18–19, 21–5, 28, 31–
 3, 36
 polis status of, 3:28–31, 184–5; 4:32–3,
 89, 91–4
 prytaneion at, 1:33; 4:92
 sanctuaries of, 3:31–6
 Zeus at, 3:21
 Naulochos, 2:80; 3:64
 and Priene, 4:100–1, 105
 Naupaktos, 3:144; 4:21
 polis status of, 3:156
 Nauplion, 2:17; 3:145, 148
 polis status of, 3:156
 Nausithoos, 2:207
 Naustathmos, 3:144
 Naxos (island),
 Constitution of the Naxians, 2:69
 demes on, 3:178
 komai on, 2:64
 prytaneion at, 1:33
 Naxos (Sicily), 2:128, 218
 Nea Kallikrateia, 2:107
 Nea Moudania, 2:107
 Neandria, 2:99
 Neapolis (Carthage), 4:103
 is an *emporion*, 4:88
 polis status of, 4:89
 Neapolis (Italy), 3:58, 145
 polis status of, 3:161
 Neapolis (Thasian peraia), 2:193; 4:122
 Neapolitai ek Tyrodizas, 2:194
 two cities of that name in Chalkidike,
 4:123
 Neapolis (Thrace),
 two cities of that name in Chalkidike,
 4:123
 Nearchos, 3:138
 Necho, 3:27, 34, 36
 Nectanebo I, 4:32
 Neda, 4:131, 155, 157

- Nemea, 2:93; 4:145, 150
 Neon Pleuron, 2:170, 179
 Neoptolemos the Molossian, 2:199
 Nerva, 2:116
nesos, in Steph. Byz., 1:122
 Nesos, *prytaneion* at, 1:33
 Nestane, 3:70, 103
 as a dependent *polis*, 3:66–7
 as a *kome*, 2:66, 74
 Nestos, 3:145
 Neumann, K., 4:111
 New Bouleuterion, 2:155–6, 171, 178–80,
 184–5, 189
 date of, 2:178–84
 pottery from, 2:181–3
 Nielsen, T.H., 3:108, 174, 189
 Niger, 1:11
 Nikaia, 2:111
 Nikias, Peace of, 2:27; 3:78, 114, 128
 autonomia in, 2:30–1, 39
 Nikomachos, 2:188, 204
 Nikonion, 2:195, 197; 3:140, 145
 polis status of, 3:162
 Nilsson, M.P., 2:176; 4:146
 Nipsa(ians), 1:109
 Nisaia, 3:141–2, 146
 Nisyros, 3:144
 Nogaik, 4:111
 Nonakris (Azania), 2:218; 3:44
 Nonakris (Tripolis), 3:107, 110–11
 Notion, 3:145; 4:30
 and Kolophon, 4:36–7, 100–1, 105
 bouleuterion at, 1:41
 polis status of, 3:162; 4:36–7
 Noudion, 4:134, 137, 143–4, 150–1
 Novgorod, 1:11
 Novorossiisk Bay, 4:68
 Nudelman, D.I., 4:108
 Nymphaion, 4:44, 49–50, 72, 76–7, 79–81
 Nysa, 2:48

 oaths, 3:82, 128–9, 132, 134–36
 Oaxos, 2:109
 Oberhummer, E., 2:109
 Ocherainos, 3:146
 Odeinios, 3:145, 164
 Odrysia, 2:27; 3:101
Odyssee, 2:7, 206–7
 Odysseus, 2:206
 Oianthea, 4:19, 20, 26
 polis status of, 4:24
 Oiniadai, 3:144
 polis status of, 3:156

 Oinophyta, 2:52
 Oion, as a *kome*, 2:66, 74; 4:31
 Oisyme, 4:88
 Oite, 3:141
 Oitylos, 3:64
 Olbia, 1:52; 2:195–8; 3:142, 145; 4:30, 59,
 97, 101–2, 104, 107–11, 114–15
 dikasterion at, 1:78
 ekklesiasterion, 1:67
 polis status of, 3:162; 4:91
 see also *Borystheneiteon emporion*
 Olbianos, 3:144
 Old Bouleuterion, see s.v. 2:132, 154–5, 158,
 178–80, 184
 criticism of reconstruction, 2:132–43
 proposed new “Old Bouleuterion”, 2:143–
 53, 157–71
 Oliver, J.H., 3:9
 Olmones, 2:49
 as a *kome*, 2:70
 Olophyxos, 2:194; 3:145
 polis status of, 3:162
 Olos, *prytaneion* at, 1:33
 Olous, 3:144
 Olympia, 1:84; 2:10, 58–9, 177; 3:21, 48, 59,
 86; 4:144, 155, 157
 administrative centre of archaic Elis, 1:16,
 86–9
 Altis, 1:87–8
 bouleuterion at, 1:41–2
 council of, 1:88
 Olympic Games, 3:58, 77, 85, 188; 4:141
 Olympic victors, 1:31, 188
 prytaneion at, 1:33–5
 Olympias, 2:206
 Olynta, 3:144
 Olynthia, 2:118
 Olynthos, 1:84; 2:58, 60, 75, 100, 106–7,
 113–15, 117–18, 120–1, 125; 3:58, 69–
 70, 93, 142, 145, 183; 4:30, 83, 87, 97,
 100, 104, 105; 4:118–22
 bouleuterion at, 1:41–3
 komai at, 2:65
 originally a Bottiaian city, 2:109, 122
 polis status of, 3:162
 synoikism of, 2:60
 Onchestos, 2:49, 212, 218
 Onythe, 1:83
 Opferrinnen, 2:10, 12–5
 Ophioussa, 3:140, 145
 polis status of, 3:162
 Ophryneion, 4:32
 Opous, 4:23–4

- Opuk, 4:112
- Orchomenos (Arkadia), 2:58, 100; 3:50, 55, 65–6, 68, 79, 81, 93–4, 97, 99, 104, 107, 141; 4:35, 146
and the Peloponnesian League, 3:92
bouleuterion at, 1:41–3
dependent *poleis* of, 3:71,
synteleia of, 3:84–6
- Orchomenos (Boiotia), 2:50; 3:51, 119, 122, 130–1; 4:29, 34
prytaneion at, 1:33
- Oreos, 2:100
- Oresthasion, 3:86, 110; 4:158, 175
polis status of, 2:85
- Oresthis, 3:48, 86
- Orgame, 2:197
- Orikos, 3:144, 149–50
polis status of, 3:162
- Ornithon, 3:145, 167
- Oropos, 2:115; 3:58, 173, 182; 4:10
- Oros, 1:121
- Orsi, P., 1:72, 74
- Ortygia, 1:29
- Osborne, R., 2:47; 4:172
- Ostwald, M., 2:25–6, 29–31, 38; 3:123–24
- Othorians, 4:123
- Pachynos, 3:143
- Paerisades I, 4:79, 90
- Pagos, 2:76
- Paion, 3:86
- Paionia, 4:78
- Paktolos, 2:174
- Paktye, 4:21–2
- Paktyes of Idyma, 2:111, 199
- palaces, 1:24–30
akropolis as term for p., 1:29
anaktoron at Selinous, 1:28
at Pantikapaion, 4:49
Bīt-Hilāni, 1:27–9
Etruscan palace-sanctuaries, 1:28
Greek term for p., 1:27
in Mycenaean Greece, 1:29
in vase painting, 1:30
oriental p., 1:27
of tyrants, 1:25–30
- Palaigambrion, 2:94, 100
polis status of, 2:92
- Palaiokastro, 3:7
- Palaiskiathos, 3:148
- Palaityros, 3:145, 164
- Palamedeion, 4:32
- Palamnos, 3:145
- Palatitsa, 1:29
- Paleochora of Dorizas, 4:173–4
- Pallantion, 2:100; 3:51, 72–3, 83, 86, 95, 97, 102, 105, 111; 4:30, 163, 165, 170, 175
polis status of, 2:85; 4:35–6
- Pallene, 2:105–6, 121; 3:143, 152; 4:119, 122–3
- Pamphylia, 3:137–8
- Pamphyloi*, at Megara, 2:72
- Pan, 2:174, 208; 3:55
- Panaitsa, 4:167, 169
- Pandosia, 2:61
- Panionion, 1:67; 3:32
seating capacity of, 1:69
date of, 1:69
- Panopeus, 1:120; 2:211, 215–6
- Pantikapaion, 2:197; 4:44–9, 50, 59–60, 62, 64, 72, 77–9, 81, 86, 90, 100, 103
equates Kremnoi, 4:111–15
has an *emporion*, 4:86
prytaneion at, 1:33
- Papadimitriou, S., 4:109
- Papazoglou, F., 2:108
- Pape-Benseler, 3:194
- Paphlagonia, 4:89
- Parakyparession, 2:219
- Parapotamioi, 2:213, 218
- Parikane, 4:19
- Parnes, 2:12
- Paroreatai,
and Arkadia, 4:147
and Triphylia, 4:134, 136, 144, 146
- Paroreia, 2:218; 3:51
- Paros, 1:33; 3:144
prytaneion at, 1:33
- Parrhasia, 2:36; 3:49, 51, 80–1, 83, 90, 92–4, 99–105, 107, 109–11; 4:35, 158–60
and the Peloponnesian League, 3:89
Parrhasike, 3:64; 4:121
- Parthenion, as a *polisma*, 2:130
- Parthenios, 3:146
- Parthenope, 3:58
- Parutino, 4:107, 109
- Patara, 3:145, 149–50
polis status of, 3:162
- Patraeus, 4:64, 68, 73
- Patrai, 2:58; 3:141
- Patrokleides, decree of, 2:187–9
- patronymics, 3:170–1
at Athens, 3:176–7
- Pausanias the Perieget, 1:77, 87–8, 99, 107, 119–21; 2:48, 51, 58, 70, 76–7, 80, 84–6, 93, 107, 134, 158; 211–19; 3:48, 77,

- 84–5, 96, 99, 102, 107, 115, 135
 as a contemporary source, 2:214–15
 as a retrospective source, 2:212–14
 as a topographer, 2:211–12
 his notion of *polis*, 2:215–17
 in Steph. Byz., 1:116
 on Panopeus, 1:120
 on past cities, 2:211–12
 on the synoikism of Megalopolis, 2:85
 site-classifications of, 2:49–50, 211–19
- Pausanias the Regent, 2:38, 55
 Pausanias the Usurper, 2:116
- Pedieis, 2:80
- Pedrizet, P., 2:192
- Peer Polity Interaction, 1:13
- Pegai, 3:142, 146, 148
- Peiraieus, 2:149, 174; 3:144, 185; 4:84, 86, 98, 100, 102
- Peisistratidai, 2:36, 207
 palace of, 1:27
- Peisistratos of Athens, 2:14
 builds Pythion, 2:207
 palace of, 1:26
- Pelasgians, *polismata* of, 2:130
- Pella, 1:29; 2:100, 106; 3:145, 151, 167
- Pellene, 2:100; 3:141
- Peloponnese, 2:69, 80–1, 87; 3:72, 74–5, 87, 90, 138; 4:119
- Peloponnesian League, 2:35; 3:35, 45–6, 64–5, 78–80, 83, 87–93, 89–92, 101, 103–4, 117, 120, 134; 4:140, 150–1, 155, 157, 159
- Peloponnesian War, 2:24, 40, 117, 119, 154; 3:89, 114; 4:10
- Pelorias, 3:143
- Pentheus, 2:205
- Peparathos, 3:145–6, 148
polis status of, 3:156
prytaneion at, 1:33
- Perachora, 2:54
- Perdikkas, 2:119, 124
- Pergamon, 1:29; 2:90, 100
bouleuterion at, 1:41
prytaneion at, 1:33
- Perge, 3:137, 145
polis status of, 3:162
- Perikles of Athens, 2:30, 195–6, 198; 4:80
- Perikles of Lykia, 2:128
- Perinthos, 3:138, 145
polis status of, 3:162
- perioikoi*, 2:24, 28; 3:134–6, 185
 not *autonomoi*, 2:25
perioikic poleis, 3:73–7, 115–7
- Perivolia, 4:167, 175
- Persia, 2:22, 34, 36, 38, 40, 76, 91, 122, 205; 3:32, 64, 114; 4:12, 14, 19–20, 30, 54, 87, 93, 97, 104
- Persian Wars, 2:55; 3:9, 41, 49–50, 76, 87, 120; 4:136, 142
- Peteon, 2:49
 as a *kome*, 2:70
- Petra, 4:32
- Petras, 3:144
- Petrie, W.M.F., 3:19, 21–2, 25; 4:91
- Pfeiffer, 1:118
- Phagres, 4:88
- Phaiaikia, 2:207
- Phaidros of Sphettos, 2:42
- Phaistos, *prytaneion* at, 1:33
- Phalanna, 4:10
- Phalantos, 2:218
- Phalasarna, 3:144–5
polis status of, 3:156
- Phaleron, 2:66, 71
- Phanagoria, 3:145; 4:51–5, 57, 66, 73, 76–7
polis status of, 3:162
- Phanagoros of Teos, 4:51
- Phanes, 3:18
- Phara, 2:144, 147
polis status of, 3:156
- Pharai, 2:48, 70
- Pharbelians, 4:122–3
- Pharmakovsky, 4:107
- Pharnabazos, 2:79
 as a *kome*, 2:70
- Pharos, 3:144
polis status of, 3:162
- Pharsalos, 2:100
- Phaselis, 3:18, 32, 138, 145
polis status of, 3:162
- Phasis, 3:145; 4:103
 has an *emporion*, 4:86
polis status of, 3:162
- Phegetians, 4:122–3
- Pheidias, 2:137
- Phellos, 3:138, 145
polis status of, 3:163
- Pheneos, 3:51, 55, 94, 187
- Pherai, as a *kome*, 2:66
- Pherekydes, 2:85
 on Phrixa(i), 4:134
- Phigaleia, 4:121, 132
 and the Peloponnesian League, 3:92
- Philip II of Macedon, 1:15, 17; 2:77, 105, 178; 3:32, 183; 4:10
- Philip V of Macedon, 2:88; 4:131–2

- Philippii, *prytaneion* at, 1:33
 Philippopolis, *komai* at, 2:73
 Philistos, 1:119
 Philochoros, 2:57, 106
 Philon, 2:202
 Philon, arsenal of, 2:149
 Philopoimen, 1:38
 Phlegyai, 2:50
 Phleious, 2:36, 100; 4:10
 polemarcheios stoa at, 1:80
 Phlya, 2:207
 Phoenicia, 3:11; 4:89
 influence on Greece, 3:9–10
 Phokaia, 3:18, 145
 polis status of, 3:163
 Phokis, 1:16; 2:30, 64, 75–6, 81, 203; 3:47, 55, 188; 4:10
 dioikismos of, 2:77
 its *poleis* after the *dioikismos*, 2:78
 komai in, 2:77
 Phokian Confederacy, 2:36; 4:30
 Phorieia, as a *kome*, 2:66, 74
phourion, in Steph. Byz., 1:122
 Phrixia(i), 2:101, 219; 4:131–2, 134, 137–9, 143–4, 150–1
 in Pherekydes, 4:134
 in Steph. Byz., 4:136
 Phrygia, 2:79
 kome in, 2:66
 Phykous, 3:144
 Phylarchos decree, 3:43, 89, 94–8, 108
 Phylarchos Historicus, 2:74
 Piérart, M., 2:192
 Pieria, 2:109
 Pikoulas, Y.A., 4:169, 171, 174–5
 Pikres of Syangela, 2:199
 Pinara, *bouleuterion* at, 1:41
 Pindar, 2:173, 176; 3:60
 Pippidi, D.M., 2:196
 Piraeis, 2:54, 72
 Pisa (Elis), 3:97–8; 4:155
 Pisa (Etruria), 3:144, 167
 Pistyros, 4:83, 89, 96–7, 99, 100, 103–5
 is an *emporion*, 4:88
 is not a *polis*, 4:90–1
 Pitane, 2:55; 3:144
 Pithekoussa (at Carthage), 3:145, 165
 Pithekoussai (Italy), 3:10, 144, 149; 4:83
 polis status of, 3:163; 4:99–100
 Pittalakos, 2:142
 Plakia, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:163
 Plataiai, 2:27, 38, 49, 51–2; 3:44, 47, 50, 76, 118, 133, 193; 4:34, 136, 142, 152
 Plateia, 3:144
 Plato, 1:21; 2:51; 3:8; 4:11, 14
 komai in, 2:57, 62–3
 Laws, 2:57, 62–3, 204; 3:34
 on *autonomia*, 2:37
 palaces in, 1:27, 29
 Republic, 2:37, 57
 Pleume, 2:122–5
 Plinthinos, 3:144
 Pliny Major, 2:114; 3:149, 152
 Ploutarchos of Eretria, 2:36
 Plutarch, 2:51, 109, 126, 195, 205; 3:135
 Greek Questions, 2:53, 72
 poetry reticals, 1:25
 Poiassa, 2:199; 3:145
 polis status of, 3:156
 Polemon, 4:69
 Polichna (Chalkidike), 2:194
 Polichne (Ionia), 2:212
polichne, 2:47, 50
 in Steph. Byz., 1:121
polichnion, 2:47, 50
 in Steph. Byz., 1:121
polidion, 2:47
 in Steph. Byz., 1:121
 Polignac, F. de, 1:13; 4:169
polis,
 a late development, 2:8
 all classical *p.* possess urban centres, 1:16
 a male society of citizens, 1:14, 17
 and temples, 2:205–7
 a typical Greek institution, 1:15
 by definition autonomous, 1:13, 15–6
 cult shared by a number of *p.*, 1:13
 dependent *p.*, 3:63–105; 4:29–37, 60–71
 difference between *p.* and *kome*, 2:61–2
 distinction between citizens and foreigners, 1:15
 emergence of *p.*, 1:15; 2:8, 205–7; 3:9
 exclusion of slaves from, 1:14
 exclusion of women from, 1:14
 generic use of the term, 4:9–15
 forms of hierarchy between *p.*, 1:14
 hegemonic *p.*, 1:17
 hierarchy of *p.*, 1:13–4
 hierarchy within *p.*, 1:14
 hypekooi p., 1:16; 2:24, 32, 38
 in evolution of mankind, 2:57
 in Homer, 2:7
 kata komas oikoumene, 2:53–4, 56–7
 members of *p.*, 1:14
 meaning of the ancient term *p.*, 1:15–6,

- 20; 2:84
 modern definitions blended with Aristotle's, 1:9
 modern definitions of, 1:9, 46
 modern translations of the term, 1:19–22
 modern use of the term, 1:19; 2:8–9
 not necessarily centered on an urban centre, 1:15–6
 not uniquely Greek, 1:102; 4:12
 number of *p.* in Greece, 1:14
 perioikic *p.*, 3:73–7, 117
 religion in, 1:13; 2:201–10
 the basic political unit of Greece, 1:15
 the Greeks' perception of *p.*, 1:16; 2:202
 the independent *p.*, 1:15–7
 versus *polisma*, 2:131
 use of the term in Hekataios, 4:17–27
 use of the term in Pausanias, 2:211–19
 use of the term in Pseudo-Skylax, 3:137–67
 use of the term in Stephanos of Byzantium, 1:99–124
 use of the term in Xenophon, 2:83–102
- Polis**, 2:62
 as a *kome*, 2:66
- polisma**, 2:47, 50
 in classical sources, 2:129–31
 in Steph. Byz., 1:121
 versus *polis*, 2:131
- polismation**, in Steph. Byz., 1:122
- politeia**, 1:91–8
 meaning of term, 1:95–7
- polites**, in Steph. Byz., 1:124
- Polyainos**, 3:88
- Polybios**, 1:107, 118; 2:73, 88, 202; 3:70; 4:14
 in Steph. Byz., 1:113
 on Triphylia, 4:129–32
- Polycharmos of Naukratis**, 3:29
- Polykrates of Samos**, 2:36, 207; 3:36
 palace of, 1:26–7
- Pontia**, 3:144
- Pontion**, 3:146, 165
- Pontos**, 2:195, 198
- Pordanis**, 3:146
- Pordoselene**, 3:144; 4:32
polis status of, 3:163
- Porphyreon**, 3:145, 166
- Porthmeus**, 4:62, 68, 72, 78
- Poseidon**, 3:141; 4:165, 170, 173–4
 Basileus, 2:209
 Erechtheus, 2:209
 Helikonios, 3:24
 Prosklytios, 2:209
 Samios, 4:147
- Poseidonia**, 1:57, 75; 3:58
ekklesiasterion at, 1:69–71
 Heraion at, 2:207
- Poseidonios**, 2:202
- Poteidaia**, 2:101, 108, 113; 3:70; 4:30, 93; 4:118, 120, 122–3, 126–7
- Potidaion**, 3:150–1
- Potniai**, 2:49
- Pouilloux, J.**, 2:192
- Powell, J.E.**, 2:88; 3:45
- Prasiai**, 3:145, 147
 as a *polis*, 2:131
 as a *polisma*, 2:130
polis status of, 3:156
- Prasilos**, 2:122–5
- Praxiteles of Syracuse**, 3:184
- Prendel**, 4:107
- Priapos**, 3:145
polis status of, 3:163
- Priene**, 1:67; 2:88, 101, 133, 180; 3:64, 145
 and Naulochos, 4:100–1, 105
autonomia of, 2:41
 barbarian *komai* of, 2:80
bouleuterion at, 1:41
ekklesiasterion at, 1:72
klepsydra found at, 1:78
komai at, 2:64; 3:178
polis status of, 3:163
prytaneion at, 1:33
theatron at, 1:69
- Pritchett, W.K.**, 3:96
- private houses**, 1:23–4, 81–5
 as status symbol, 1:84
 attitudes to, 1:84–5
 become more elaborate, 1:85
 modesty of, 1:81
 remains of, 1:81–5
 "Typenhäuser", 1:83–4
- Profitis Elias at Asea**, 4:175
- Prokles**, 2:93
- Prokonnesos**, 3:144
polis status of, 3:163
- Prosymna**, 2:10–11, 17
- Proteras**, 3:144
- prytaneion**, 1:16, 24, 30–7, 81
 archaeological remains of *p.*, 1:31, 34
 archaic *p.* modest, 1:36
 architectural form of *p.*, 1:36–37
 as marker of *polis* status, 1:86
 classical *p.* modest, 1:36
 eternal flame in, 1:31

- fire-places in *p.*, 1:34
- list of known examples of *p.*, 1:31–4
- monumental *p.* Hellenistic, 1:36
- number of securely identified *p.*, 1:37
- written sources about *p.*, 1:31
- prytaneis*, 1:53, 86
- Psamathos, 3:144, 165
- Psamathous, 3:142, 144
- Psammetichos I, 3:25, 27, 29, 36
- Pseegas, 3:145, 165
- Psestoi, 4:80
- Pseudo-Skylax, 2:61, 108, 114, 123, 129; 3:137–67; 4:18
 - barbarian towns in, 3:166–7
 - composition of, 3:138–40
 - date of, 3:137–8; 4:95
 - gazetteer of *poleis* in, 3:153–64
 - manuscript problems in, 3:164–5
 - site-classifications of, 3:143–6
 - terminology of, 3:140–3
 - unknown sites in, 3:165–6
 - use of term *polis*, 3:137–67
- Pseudo-Skymnos, 3:149
- Psophis, 2:107; 3:48, 51
- Psoron, 3:144
- Psylla, 3:144
- Pteleon, 2:212
- Ptolemaios Geograficus, 1:100; 2:113, 197; 4:115
- Ptolemaios I, 2:40, 42, 79
- Ptolemais, 3:30
 - prytaneion* at, 1:33
- Ptolis, 2:62
- Ptoon, 2:49
- Pydna, 3:145, 152
 - polis* status of, 3:163
- Pylioi, and Triphylia, 4:146
- Pyramos, 3:146
- Pyrene, 4:94, 100
- Pyrgos, 4:131–2, 134, 143, 150–1
- Pyrrha, 4:23
- Pyrrha, 3:145
 - polis* status of, 3:163
- Pythagoras, 1:84
- Pythopolis, as a *kome*, 2:67
- Raevskoe, 4:71
- regional ethnics, 3:174–6
 - as evidence for political status, 3:187–90
- regions,
 - archaic regional pattern, 1:16
 - ethnics of, 3:174–6, 187–90
 - Hellas divided into *r.*, 1:16
 - not the basic political unit after the rise of the *polis*, 1:15
 - split up into city-states, 1:12
 - urbanisation of, 1:12
 - versus *polis*, 1:17
- Reichsstädte*, 1:11; 2:46
- Reid, C., 1:100
- religion,
 - antedates the *polis*, 2:203
 - definition of *polis* religion, 2:201–2
 - patron divinities, 2:207–10
 - private, 2:203
 - religious trials, 2:204
 - transformation of pre-*polis* religion, 2:203–5
 - see also cult and *polis*
- Reyes, A.T., 3:15
- Rhamnous, 3:146
- Rhaucos, *prytaneion* at, 1:33
- Rhea, 2:174
- Rhebas, 3:146
- Rhegion, 3:143
 - bouleuterion* at, 1:41
 - ekklesiasterion* at, 1:72–4
 - polis* status of, 3:163
 - prytaneion* at, 1:33
- Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, 1:37
- Rhianos, 1:118
- Rhis, 3:145
- Rhittenia, 2:35; 3:136
- Rhodes, P.J., 3:67, 119, 124, 130
- Rhodopis, 3:29
- Rhodos, 1:82; 2:58, 109, 209; 3:18, 30, 144, 171, 178–9, 188; 4:103
 - has an *emporion*, 4:86
 - polis* status of, 3:163
 - prytaneion* at, 1:33
 - theatron* at, 1:49
- Rhoiteion, 4:32
- Rhorne, 3:144, 166
- Rhyndakos, 3:146
- Rhypes, 3:141
- Riis, B., 3:190
- ritual(s), 2:8–19
- Robert, L., 1:103–5, 109, 114, 123
- Robertson, 1:23
- Robinson, D.M., 4:122
- Robinson, R., 1:91, 94
- Roebuck, C., 3:29
- Roksolanskoe, G., 2:197
- Rome, 1:10, 20, 22; 2:42, 169
 - singularity of, 1:12
- Rose, V., 2:75

- Roux, G., 2:148–9, 184
 Roy, J., 3:41, 47–8, 56, 96–8; 4:139
 Ruge, 2:111
 Runciman, W.G., 2:21
 Rupp, D., 3:13
 Ruschenbusch, E., 1:14
 Ryder, T.T.B., 3:122
- Sabazios, 2:175
 Sagalassos, *bouleuterion* at, 1:41
 Sagarios, 3:146
 Salamis (Attika), 3:58, 141, 144, 147; 4:10
 polis status of, 3:156
 Salamis (Kypros), 3:8, 145; 4:86, 103
 has an *emporion*, 4:86
 polis status of, 3:163
 royal tombs at, 3:12–14
 social structure at, 3:13–14
 Salgameus, 2:48
 Salmon, J.B., 2:129
 Same, 1:33
 prytaneion at, 1:33
 Samikon, 4:131–2, 134, 147
 Samos, 1:26; 2:36, 40, 101, 177, 187, 189;
 3:18, 21, 36, 144, 181; 4:24
 bouleuterion at, 1:41
 polis status of, 3:163
 prytaneion at, 1:33
 theatron at, 1:50
 Samothrake, 3:144; 4:25, 30, 36
 ekklesiasterion at, 1:74–5
 Sana, 2:117, 194; 4:122
 two cities of that name, 4:119
 sanctuaries,
 as centres of interaction, 2:9–10
 maintenance of by magistrates, 1:13
 Sarapis, 2:204
 Sarapta, 3:145, 167
 Sarauw, 1:22
 Sardes, 1:27; 2:56, 176; 3:119, 129–31
 komai at, 2:68
 Sarmatia, 4:69
 Sarpodon, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:163
 Sarte, 2:124; 4:122
 Sason, 3:144
 Satyros, 2:152, 185
 Saunders, T.J., 1:94
 Scaevola, M., 2:201–2
 Schedia, 3:25
 Scheria, 1:26, 45
 Schoinos, 2:49
 Schuller, W., 2:191, 194
- Schwandner, E.-L., 1:83–4
 Sealey, R., 3:41
 Second Athenian Naval Confederacy, 2:28,
 31, 87, 105, 111, 191; 3:117, 123, 131,
 148, 193; 4:10, 24
 federations in, 2:198–9
 poleis in, 2:198–200
 Seleukos II, 2:42
 self-definition, Greek, 3:11, 15
 Selinous, 2:101, 203; 4:88, 98
 anaktorion at, 1:28
 Seltman, C., 3:54
 Selymbria, 3:142, 145
 polis status of, 3:163
 Semibratnoe, 4:69
 Sennoi, 4:51
 Seriphos, 3:144
 polis status of, 3:156
 Serme, 4:122, 123
 Sermyllia, 3:145; 4:122, 126
 polis status of, 3:163
 Sermyllikos, 3:144
 Sesamos, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:163
 Sestos, 2:36, 101
 Setos, 3:144
 Shear, T.L., 2:148–9, 154–6
 Sicily, 1:15, 75; 2:69, 109; 3:144; 4:14, 87,
 98, 142
 Sida, 3:145, 165
 Side (Lakonia), 3:145
 polis status of, 3:156
 Side (Pamphylia), *polis* status of, 3:163
 Siderous, 3:143
 Sidgwick, H., 1:20
 Sidon, 1:10; 3:11, 145, 167
 Sidous, 3:146
 as a *kome*, 2:68
 Sidoussa, 4:19, 26
 polis status of, 4:24–5
 Siewert, P., 4:139, 141, 149, 151, 152
 Sige, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:163
 Sigeion, *prytaneion* at, 1:33
 Sikels, 2:27, 130
 Sikinos, 3:144
 polis status of, 3:156
 Sikyon, 2:12, 101; 3:97–8, 144
 bouleuterion at, 1:41; 2:170
 polis status of, 3:156
 prytaneion at, 1:33
 Simonides of Athens, 2:120
 Sinaia, 2:125

- Sindike town, 4:66–7,
 Sindike, 4:114, 115
 Sindikos, 3:144
 Sindoi, 4:66, 79–80
 Sinope, 2:196; 3:145, 149, 152
 polis status of, 3:163
 Sinos, 2:122–4
 Siphai, *polis* status of, 3:156
 Siphnos,
 agora at, 3:36
 prytaneion at, 1:33, 36
 Sipylos, 2:219
 Sitalkes, 2:128
 site-classifications, 2:47
 akropolis, 2:50; 3:143
 ancient s., 2:45–81
 chorion, 2:50
 demos, 2:47
 emporion, 2:47; 3:144; 4:87–91
 epineion, 2:50, 214; 3:158
 ereipia, 2:50, 213, 218–9
 fluctuations in s., 2:71
 hieron, 2:47, 50; 3:144
 in Boiotia, 4:18
 in Hekataios, 4:18, 95
 in Herodotos, 2:62
 in Pausanias, 2:50–1, 211–19
 in Strabo, 2:48–9; 3:25
 kome, 1:105; 2:45–81; 3:144
 komion, 2:50
 limen, 1:105; 2:47, 50; 3:144; 4:95
 manteion, 2:50
 phrourion, 1:122
 polichne, 1:121; 2:47, 50
 polichnion, 1:121; 2:47, 50
 polidion, 2:47
 polis, see s.v.
 polisma, 1:121; 2:47, 50, 129–31
 polismation, 1:122
 stability of s., 2:62
 teichos, 1:121; 2:47; 4:95, 120–1
 topos, 2:50
 Sithonia, 2:105–6, 124; 4:123, 127
 Six, J.P., 3:86
 Sixos, 4:18–19
 Skablaians, 4:122, 123
 Skadovsky, 4:107
 Skamandros, 3:146
 Skandeia, 3:148
 and Kythera, 4:100–1, 105
 as a *polisma*, 2:130
 Skapsaia, 4:117
 and Kampsia, 4:122–5
 Skepsis, 2:89, 101
 polis status of, 2:92–3
 Skiathos, 3:143, 145, 148
 polis status of, 3:156
 Skillous, 2:59–60, 101, 207, 219; 3:77, 104;
 4:134, 138–39, 144, 148, 151
 in Diogenes Laertios, 4:133
 Skione, 2:194; 4:122, 126
 Skiritis, 4:31
 Skithai, 2:124
 and Kithas, 4:125–7
 Skolos (Boiotia), 2:49
 as a *kome*, 2:70
 Skolos (Chalkidike), 2:120–1
 Skopadai, 3:171
 Skoutoussa (Chalkidike), 4:125
 Skoutoussa (Thessalia), 4:125
 theatron at, 1:49
 Skylax of Karyanda, see Pseudo-Skylax
 Skyllaion, 3:143
 Skyros, 2:36, 101; 3:121, 130, 144, 147
 polis status of, 3:157
 Skythia, 3:140; 4:69, 72–3, 76–8, 95, 109–
 10, 113–15
 Smil(l)a, 2:122–3; 4:19, 26, 126
 polis status of, 2:45
 Smith, A.D., 4:147
 Smyrna, 1:41; 2:64, 77, 81, 207
 as a *polis kata komas oikoumene*, 2:78
 autonomia of, 2:42
 bouleuterion at, 1:41
 dioikismos of, 2:75–6
 komai at, 2:64
 prytaneion at, 1:34
 Snodgrass, A., 2:57; 3:9
 Sokrates, 2:204; 3:177
 Sollion, *polis* status of, 2:129–131
 Soloeis, *bouleuterion* at, 1:41
 Soloi (Kilikia), 3:145
 polis status of, 3:163
 Soloi (Kypros), *polis* status of, 3:163
 Solon,
 reforms of, 2:15–6
 sumptuary legislation of, 2:15
 Solygeia, as a *kome*, 2:67
 Sombeti, 4:170
 Sophokles, 2:57, 174
 Sounion, 3:141, 143–4; 4:120
 Sourvinou-Inwood, C., 2:202–3, 205
 Sousiana, 2:79
 Spain, 4:87
 Sparta, 1:15, 17; 2:24, 29–30, 35–6, 38–40,
 52, 57, 60, 76, 78, 93, 98–9, 206, 209;

- 3:8–11, 44–6, 50, 53, 56, 64–5, 73–4, 76–7, 80–1, 83, 101–2, 111, 122, 179; 4:10, 30, 34–5, 137–8, 140–45, 148, 151–2, 154–5, 157, 159, 163
 and Arkadia, 3:87–93
 and the Boiotian Confederacy, 3:113–25, 127–36
 as an *asty*, 2:55
 as a nucleated settlement, 2:55
 as a *polis kata komas oikoumene*, 2:54
 as a *polisma*, 2:131
bouleuterion at, 1:41
 kings at, 3:10
komai at, 2:54–5, 64
 meeting place of assembly at, 1:44
perioikoi of, see under Lakonia and Mesenia
prytaneion at, 1:34
 Spartokids, 4:66, 79, 113
 Spartolos, 2:114, 118, 125, 127; 4:122
polis status of, 2:119–22
 Spercheios, 3:141, 145
 Sphettos, 1:42
 Sporades, 2:69
 Stadtstaat, origin of the term, 1:19–22
 Stageira, 2:81, 106, 120–1; 4:123
 as a *kome*, 2:67, 75
 membership of the Chalkidic Confederacy, 2:75
 polis status of, 2:75
 Stameneia, 3:145, 164
 Stanitsa Botievo, 4:112
 state, generic terms for
 ancient terms, 4:9–15
 modern terms, 4:9
 Stephane, 3:144
 Stephanos of Byzantion, 1:99–124; 2:88–90, 111, 113, 123–4, 211–12; 3:66, 71, 95, 150, 174; 4:136
 as a source for *komai*, 2:70
 assumed site-classifications in, 1:109–13, 115–16
 attitude towards site-classification, 1:105
 character of preserved work, 1:101
 correct site-classifications in, 1:111–13, 115–16
 Hekatalos in, 4:17–27
 Herodotos in, 1:118
 mistaken site-classifications in, 1:110–13, 115–16
 modern assessments of, 1:99–101
 Pausanias in, 1:116
 poetic sources in, 1:118
 reliability of his ethnics, 1:103–5; 2:84
 reliability of his site-classifications, 1:117
 Strabo in, 1:113
 textual condition of, 1:101
 use of lost writers, 1:106, 118–19
 use of prose historians, 1:118–19
 vocabulary of site-classification, 1:105–6, 120–3
 working method of, 1:114, 123; 4:17–18, 124
 Stephon, 2:53
 as a *kome*, 2:70
stoai, 1:79–80
 Stolos, 2:114, 195; 4:122
 Strabo, 1:99, 106–7, 109, 114–15, 119, 124; 2:45, 50–1, 58, 70, 75–6, 79–80, 109, 124, 211–12; 3:25–6, 76, 110, 149, 174
 in Steph. Byz., 1:113
 site-classifications, 2:48–9
 Stratonikeia, demes in, 3:178
 Stratopeda, 3:29
 Strepsa, 4:122
 Stryme, 4:103
 is an *emporion*, 4:89
 polis status of, 4:89
 Strymon, 3:145
 Stylangion, 4:131, 132, 134
 Symphalos, 3:51, 55, 58, 94, 98, 100, 141; 4:146
 Styx, 3:44, 52
 sub-ethnics, 3:171–3, 178–9
 as evidence of political status, 3:182
 at Athens, 3:177–8
 demotics, 3:171
 Swoboda, 2:50
 Syangela, 2:199
 Sylleion, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:164
symmachia, 2:28; 3:77–87
 autonomia in, 2:28
 Symmaithos, 3:145
sympoliteia, 2:56, 73–5; 3:67–70
synoikismos, 1:16, 35, 87–9; 3:42, 53, 58–61, 72, 85
 Syracuse, 1:29; 2:29, 32, 36, 101, 207; 3:14, 145; 4:14, 32, 36, 69
 bouleuterion at, 1:41
 dikasterion at, 1:78
 polis status of, 3:164
 prytaneion at, 1:34
 theatron at, 1:49
 Syrtis, 3:144

- Taganrog, 4:42, 112
 Tainaros, 3:141, 144
 Taman, 4:55
 Taman, gulf of, 4:51, 64
 Taman peninsula, 4:39, 51, 55, 59, 66, 71–3, 76, 78–9, 81
 Tamassos, 3:12
 Tambouria, 4:170–1
 Tamyrake, 2:195, 197
 Tanagra, 2:49, 51–2, 69, 101; 3:44, 47, 63, 121; 4:29, 31
 Constitution of the Tanagraians, 2:53
 komai in, 2:53
 prytaneion at, 1:34
 Tanais, 3:145; 4:69, 113
 Taras, 3:57–8
 prytaneion at, 1:34
 theatron at, 1:50
 Taricheiai, 3:145, 164
 Tarquinia, 1:10
 Tarrha, 4:99, 104
 Tartessos, 4:103
 is an *emporion*, 4:89
 polis status of, 4:89
 Taurike, 3:143
 Tauroi, 4:80, 115
 Tauromenion, 3:137
 Tausend, K., 3:89
 Tegea, 2:58, 101, 208; 3:41, 47–53, 55–6, 68, 72–3, 79–81, 87–90, 92–4, 96, 98–9, 102, 104, 107–8, 111, 141, 188,; 4:35, 146, 160, 163, 165, 175
 and the Peloponnesian League, 3:87–9
 as federal capital, 3:42–4
 hegemonic league of, 3:86
 synoikism of, 2:60
 Zeus at, 3:52
 Tegyra, 2:52
 teicheres, 2:128
 Teichioussa, 2:192, 195
 as a *kome*, 2:67
 Teichos Boioton, 3:146
 Teisamenos of Elis, 3:44
 Tekke bowl, 3:10
 Telemachos of Acharnai, 2:175
 Telemachos, 1:45
 Teleutias, 2:122; 4:120
 Telmessos, 2:128–9; 3:138, 145
 komai at, 2:68
 polis status of, 3:164
 Telos, 3:144
 Temesa, 3:58
 Temnos, 2:101
 temples, 2:205–7
 temple-building by non-*poleis*, 2:206–7
 Tenea, as a *kome*, 2:67
 Tenedos, *prytaneion* at, 1:34
 Tenos, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:157
 Teos, 2:56, 209; 3:18, 145; 4:59
 bouleuterion at, 1:41
 polis status of, 3:164
 prytaneion at, 1:34
 komai at, 2:68
 synoikism with Lebedos, 2:42
 Terina, 3:58
 Termessos, *bouleuterion* at, 1:41
 territory, 2:17
 absorption of peripheral areas into, 2:13
 not necessarily part of a *polis*, 4:99
 poleis inside t. of other *poleis*, 3:65–72
 Tetrakis, 3:145, 152, 165
 Teuthis, 3:84, 107
 polis status of, 3:85
 Teuthrania, 2:90, 94, 101
 polis status of, 2:93
 Thales, 2:56
 Thaliades, 3:51, 86–7
 Thamiskia, 2:118
 Thamiskos, 2:125
 etymology of toponym, 2:118
 polis status of, 2:118–9
 Thapsa, 3:145, 165
 Thapsakos, 3:146
 Thasos, 2:170, 194; 3:10, 64, 144; 4:83, 87, 97, 100, 104–5
 bouleuterion at, 1:41
 peraia of, 2:114, 192–3; 3:137; 4:29–30, 32
 polis status of, 3:164
 prytaneion at, 1:34
 Theangela, Hellenistic assembly attendance at, 1:72
 Theano of Athens, 2:205
 Theano of Troy, 2:203
theatron,
 absence of *bemata* in t., 1:52
 as political meeting place, 1:24, 48–53
 primary function of, 1:51–3
 sizes of t., 1:52
 Thebes, 1:17; 2:12, 35–6, 40, 48–9, 58, 77, 101, 173, 176, 199; 3:93, 173; 4:121, 163
 and the Boiotian Confederacy, 3:113–25, 127–36; 4:30, 34, 153
 as a *polisma*, 2:130–1

- prytaneion* at, 1:34
 sacred band at, 3:96
theatron at, 1:49
 Thelpoussa, 2:107; 3:55, 94, 98, 187
 Themiskyra, 3:145, 152; 4:114
 polis status of, 3:164
 Themisonion, *prytaneion* at, 1:34
 Themistokles, 2:205
 decree of, 2:207
 Theodorescu, D., 1:55, 71
 Theodoros, 2:205
 Theodosia, 4:50–1, 60, 79–81, 100, 103, 105, 116
 is an *emporion*, 4:89
 polis status of, 4:90–1
 Theophrastos, 1:81
 Theopompos Comicus, 2:175
 Theopompos Historicus, 1:119; 2:117, 128, 178; 3:71, 95
 Theoupropos of Sinope, 2:196
 Thera, *basilike stoa* at, 1:80
 Therambos, 2:194; 4:122
 Theramenes, 2:148, 151–3, 184–5, 189
 Thermaic Gulf, 2:124; 3:144
 Therme, 2:114; 3:151, 167; 4:19–20
 as a *polisma*, 2:130–1
 Thermodon, 3:146; 4:114
 Thermon, *bouleuterion* at, 1:41
 Thermopylai, 3:49, 59, 141
 Thermos, 3:191
 Theseus, 2:54–6; 4:26–7
 Thespiai, 2:49, 62, 102; 3:64
 as a *polis kata komas oikoumene*, 2:57
 prytaneion at, 1:34
 Thesproti in Epeiros, 2:61
 Thessalia, 3:44, 55, 57–8; 4:14
 “free market” in, 1:46
 Thessalian Confederacy, 2:36
 Thessalonike, 2:124; 3:178; 4:127
 Theumessos, 2:49
 Thibron, 2:89, 92
 Thirty Tyrants, 2:152–4, 185, 188
 Thisbe, 2:49; 3:64
 prytaneion at, 1:34
 Thisoa by Lykaion, 3:97
 Thisoa by Orchomenos, 3:84, 107
 polis status of, 3:85
 Thokneia, 2:219
 Thompson, D., 3:24
 Thompson, H.A., 2:147–8, 158–9, 168, 171–2, 176
 Thorikos, 2:12; 3:146; 4:19
 as a *polis* in Hekataios, 4:25–7
 Thoudippos, decree of, 2:194
 Thouria (Lakonia), *kome* at, 2:64
 Thouria (Sicily), 3:144
 polis status of, 3:164
 Thourioi, 3:143
 Thrace, 2:27, 78, 80, 105, 108–10; 3:101, 152; 4:21, 29, 32, 78, 83, 87, 91, 95, 98, 103, 126
 komai in, 2:65
 polismata in, 2:130
 Thraustos, 2:102; 3:64
 polis status of, 2:93
 Thucydides, 1:85, 107, 109, 118; 2:39, 45–6, 51, 57, 62–3, 72, 78, 80, 86, 105–6, 109, 121, 127–29, 175, 206; 3:25, 33, 35, 48, 56, 63, 76, 79, 81, 83, 86, 89–90, 101, 104, 114, 124, 133, 148; 4:10, 26
 Archaiologia of, 2:52, 54
 autonomia in, 2:28–33
 in Steph. Byz., 1:111–12
 kome in, 2:52–6
 on early *poleis*, 2:54
 use of the term *polis*, 2:54, 86–7
 Thymbra, 4:32
 Thymiateria, 3:145, 166
 Thynias, 3:144
 Thyraion, 2:219
 Thyreatis, 3:95
 Thyssos, 3:145; 4:122
 polis status of, 3:164
 Tieion, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:164
 Timesileos of Sinope, 2:196
 Timoleon, 1:29, 38, 74
 Tinde, 2:122–3, 125; 4:126
 Tiphera, 2:49
 Tiribazos, 3:130
 Tiryns, 2:17
 Tithorea, 2:214
 Tlos, *prytaneion* at, 1:34
 Toltecs, 1:11
 topos, as a site-classification, 2:50
 Torelli, M., 1:28
 Toretai, 4:80
 Torikos, 3:145, 165; 4:68, 73
 Torone, 2:102, 122; 3:145
 polis status of, 3:164
 regional affiliation of, 2:105
 Torthyneion, 3:84
 Toulouse, 1:10
 town planning, 1:81–2
 Trachis, 3:141
 Trachonas, 3:13

- Traianopolis, *komai* at, 2:73
 Tralles,
 ekklesiasterion at, 1:75
 theatron at, 1:50
 Trapeza, 2:125
 Trapezous (Arkadia), 2:219; 3:102, 110
 Trapezous (Black Sea), 3:145; 4:22–3
 barbarian *komai* at, 2:79–80
 polis status of, 3:164
 Trapezous (Chalkidike), 2:125
 tribal states, 3:100–3, 107–112; 4:158–60
 tribute, 1:12
 Trieres, 3:145, 167
 Trikolonoi, 2:219; 3:102
 Triopion, 3:143
 Triphylia, 2:87–8, 102; 3:74–5, 95; 4:129–62
 and Elis, 4:131–3, 136–41, 146
 and Poseidon Samios, 4:147
 as a part of Arkadia, 4:129, 133–6, 145–6, 156
 Epeioi in, 4:146
 eponymous hero of, see Triphylos
 ethnic identities in, 4:133–6, 145–7
 in Diogenes Laertios, 4:133
 in Polybios, 4:129–32, 151, 155, 157
 in Ps.-Skylax, 4:156
 in Strabo, 4:133, 146
 in the fifth century, 4:133–44
 in the fourth century, 4:144–57
 its cities, 4:131, 150–1
 its geography, 4:131, 155–6
 Kaukones in, 4:134, 136, 146
 Lepreon in, 4:152–5
 Minyans in, 4:134, 146
 myths of origin in, 4:145–7
 Paroreatai in, 4:134, 136, 146
 perioikic communities in, 2:36
 polis status of its communities, 4:132, 142–4
 political unity of, 4:131–2, 136–41, 148–155
 Pylioi in, 4:146
 Triphylos, 4:129, 132, 146, 155, 157
 Tripoatis, 2:118
 Tripodiskos, 2:54
 as a *kome*, 2:67, 72
 Tripoiai, 2:111, 118–20, 122, 124–5, 127
 etymology of toponym, 2:117
 polis status of, 2:116–7
 Tripolis (Arkadia), 3:107, 110–11
 Tripolis (Phoinikia), 3:145, 167
 Triptolemos, 3:58
 Triton, 3:146
 Tritonis, 3:144
 Troas, 2:91
 Troizen, 2:209; 3:145
 kome at, 2:73; 3:178
 polis status of, 3:157
 Trojan War, 2:54
 Troy/Trojans, 1:26; 2:131, 203, 209
 as a *polisma*, 2:131
 bouleuterion at, 1:41
 Tsemberou, 4:174–5
 Tsetskhladze, G.R., 4:102
 Tsukurskii Liman, 4:76
 Tuscany, singularity of, 1:12
 Tymnes, 4:10
 Typaneiai, 2:36; 4:131, 134
 polis status of, 4:132
 Tuplin, C.J., 4:139, 152
 Tyramba, 4:66, 68, 73
 tyrants, 3:14
 activities of t., 1:25
 palaces of t., 1:25–30
 Tyras, 2:195, 197; 4:110
 Tyris, 3:140, 145
 Tyritake, 4:62, 68, 72, 77
 Tyrodiza, 2:194
 Tyros (Lakonia), as a *kome*, 2:68, 74
 Tyros (Phoenicia), 1:10; 3:145, 167

 United Nations, 4:9
 Ur, 1:10
 urbanisation,
 encouraged by colonisation, 1:15
 not productive of city-state culture, 1:11
 of the Indus valley, 1:11
 productive of city-state culture, 1:12
 see also architecture, *kome* and town planning
urbs, 1:22
 Uruk, 1:10:
 Uzunlyarsk Dyke, 4:112, 115

 Yuzhno Churubashskoe, 4:72

 Vallois, R., 1:61–2
 van Velde, 3:190
 Vari Cave, 2:177; 4:172
 Varro, 2:201–2
 Vavdos, 2:108
 Venice, 1:10–11
 Venit, M.S., 3:26
 Vergina, 1:29
 Vermaseren, M.J., 2:176
 Vigla, 4:165, 170, 172–4

- village, see *kome*
 ville, use of the term, 1:19
 Vinogradov, J.G., 4:109–10
 Vinogradov, Y.G., 4:60, 79
 Vokotopoulou, J., 2:103, 110, 116–19; 4:118
 von Bismarck, 3:190
 von Bissing, F.W., 3:22
 von Gaertringen, H., 2:80
 von Stern, 4:107
 Vouliagmeni, 1:83
 Vouni, palace at, 1:28
 Vromosyrta, 2:107
 Vroulia, 1:82
 Vulci, 1:10,

 Wallace, W.P., 3:41, 45–8, 50, 52–3
 Walter, U., 1:87
 Warner, R., 3:72; 4:121
 Weil, R., 3:44–5
 West, A.B., 2:110; 4:122
 Westberg, A., 4:111
 Whitehead, D., 1:9; 3:71; 4:17–18
 Will, E., 2:24
 Willamowitz, 1:104, 205
 Williams, R.T., 3:39, 41, 48–50, 52–3
 Wilson, N., 1:100, 119
 Wycherley, R.E., 2:148

 Zagora, 1:82–3
 Zahrnt, M., 2:103, 106–7, 115, 118, 120,
 122–3, 127, 129; 4:122, 127
 Zakynthos, 2:102; 3:144
 polis status of, 3:157
 Za Rodinu, 4:71
 Zenon Chersonesos, 4:71
 Zephyrion, 3:145
 polis status of, 3:163
 Zephyrios, 3:144

 Zeus, 2:12, 147, 174, 209; 3:18, 39; 4:46
 Agoraios, 1:62, 65
 Apotropaïos, 3:21, 24
 at Dodona, 4:14
 at Lesbos, 2:206
 Basileus, 3:24
 Boulaïos, 1:69; 2:170
 Hellenios, 3:23–4
 Karios, 2:79, 203
 Larisaïos, 2:208
 Lykaïos, 3:39, 55, 59–61, 188
 meaning of epithet *Polieus*, 2:208
 Meilichios, 3:52–3
 Olympios, 1:86–7, 89; 3:23, 35, 76
 Polieus, 2:208–9
 Syllanios, 2:206
 Zhebelev, S.A., 4:60
 Zhebelyov, S.A., 4:109
 Zoiteion, 2:219
 Zone, 3:144; 4:103
 is an *emporion*, 4:89
 polis status of, 4:89–90

 Xanthos, 3:146
 Xenophon, 1:87–8, 107, 118; 2:28, 39, 51,
 55, 60, 78–9, 128, 148, 152, 184–5, 203;
 3:60, 69, 72–7, 85, 90–2, 94–6, 117–18,
 128–33, 136, 149; 4:11
 attitude to Sparta, 3:129
 in Steph. Byz., 1:112–13
 on Chalkidic Apollonia, 4:117–21
 on the King's Peace, 3:119, 129
 use of the term *polis*, 2:83–102
 Xerxes, 2:108, 122; 4:32, 124
 Xion, 3:146
 Xiphoneios, 3:144
 Xylotoubou, 3:13